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FBIS-EEU-96-034 *20 February 1996*

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B-H: Bosnian Peace Talks End; News Conference Expected

AU1802164696 Paris AFP in English 1631 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Feb 18 (AFP)—Two days of talks in Rome aimed at reaffirming the Dayton peace accords ended at the Foreign Ministry building Sunday [18 February].

The talks were attended by the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, as well as by U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke and the top civilian representative in Bosnia, Carl Bildt.

Participants at the meeting worked to compile a joint declaration reaffirming the Dayton peace accords signed in Paris in December.

A diplomat said obstacles to the reunification of the southern Bosnian city of Mostar could be overcome.

Another touchy issue is the hunt for suspected war criminals.

A final press conference was expected shortly.

B-H: Conclusions of Rome Summit on Bosnia

LD2002010896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0026 GMT 20 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Feb 19 (TANJUG)—On February 18 in Rome, President Izetbegovic, President Tudjman, President Zubak and Vice President Ganic discussed the present status of the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Dayton federation agreement at the invitation of the Italian E.U. presidency.

Representatives of the Contact Group and of the office of the High Representative assisted in these discussions. They came to the following conclusions:

The presidents reaffirm their strong commitment to the speedy implementation and full functioning of all institutions of the Federation. They welcome the establishment at the end of January of separate governments of the Federation and of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a major step. The presidents reiterate the importance which they attribute to non-interference by either government in the competencies of the other government. The Federation and central government shall operate strictly within their respective constitutional and statutory mandates.

They agree that further steps are required to achieve the full political, economic and social integration of the federation. The authority of the Federation government and other federation institutions shall be established throughout the whole federation territory. Political structures competing with the federation shall be dissolved promptly and their authority transferred to the federation.

1. Mostar

All participants in today's talks express their firm support for the work of E.U. administrator Koschnick and condemn the recent attacks against him. They welcome the signature today of an agreement unifying the city of Mostar and pledge immediate and continuing support for its implementation.

2. Customs Authority and Tax Administration

They agree to fully support and implement unified customs and tax systems in the Federation. Specifically they agree to establish the Federation customs administration by March 1. They pledge to eliminate internal customs checkpoints and establish Federation border posts by that date. The head of the Federation customs administration shall be appointed by February 20 and the appropriate Federation accounts for customs revenue shall be established by February 22. The director and deputy director of a unified Federation tax administration will be appointed by the end of February and a tax board established one month later.

They endorse the request of the Federation Government to have an international observer mission for monitoring and assisting the unified customs system.

3. Cantonal Borders and Municipalities

Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic endorse the settlement of cantonal boundaries as agreed in a map signed by the president and vice president of the Federation today. Posusje, Grude, Ljubuski, and Siroki Brijeg shall form a new canton by March 5, or remain in the western Herzegovina canton with the new Federation municipalities Glamoc, Bosansko Grahovo and Drvar. The law on Federation cantons, which will regulate the boundaries in detail, shall be adopted by the Federation Assembly by March 10. If there is no agreement by that date, the issue will be submitted to the Federation arbitrator.

Cantons and municipalities are the building blocks of the federation and must be established without further delay.

5. [number as received] Refugees and Freedom of Movement

They note that full implementation of the earliler agreement to return refugees and displaced persons to four specific cities within the federation has not

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yet occurred and pledge to move forward on this question expeditiously. They are satisfied that there is full compliance in Travnik and progress in Jajce and Stolac. Return of Croat families to Bugojno shall start immediately, with the full commitment of the Bosniac side.

They agree that the return of these 600 families is just a first step leading to a general return of refugees and displaced persons in a voluntary, orderly and phased manner, as agreed at Dayton.

They agree that the Federation government shall immediately assure full freedom of movement and remove all checkpoints. It shall furthermore establish full political and religious freedom, and thus ensure a safe return of all refugees and displaced persons throughout the federation territory.

They call on the U.N. international police and IFOR [Implementation Force] to assist in assuring freedom of movement within their capabilities.

6. Pensions and Civil Service Salaries

They call on the Federation government to keep, in coordination with the IMF, the present average level of pensions and civil service salaries in the territory under control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], with the aim of providing this level throughout the federation territory.

7. Defense

They recognize that the lack of a basic defense law creates uncertainties that are undesirable. An agreed, joint text will be submitted to the federation parliament at its next session.

8. Monitoring Progress

They call on high level representatives of the federation partners, who hold regular, informal meetings under the auspices of the office of the high representative, to monitor progress on the implementation of the Federation in all its aspects, and to keep interested friends of the Federation informed.

9. Federation Anniversary

They note the upcoming second anniversary of the founding of the Federation and welcome a meeting to commemorate that date and take further steps to strengthen the federation.'

B-H: Rome Meeting Statement on Sarajevo

LD1902174696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Feb 19 (TANJUG)—A statement on Sarajevo adopted at the enlarged meeting of the Contact Group in Rome Sunday said that there will be equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all peoples and citizens of Sarajevo.

The text of the Rome statement on Sarajevo is as follows:

Sarajevo will be a united city in accordance with the peace agreement. It is our common conviction that this will give better possibilities for all—Bosniacs, Serbs, Croats and others—and will be an important contribution to peace in all of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are determined to work for the reconciliation and peaceful living together in Sarajevo. We appeal to all to stay in the city, and rest assured that their legitimate rights will be taken into account.

There will be equal treatment for Bosniacs, Croats, Serbs and others in Sarajevo. There will be equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all peoples and citizens of Sarajevo, as well as for all citizens of all regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This means that the Serbs also will have the opportunity to participate fully in the governance of the city. Serbs in Sarajevo will also be assured participation in local self-rule at the opcina level in accordance with the federation constitution, which can afford them the opportunity for education, social welfare and healthcare and the appropriate use of the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet.

Sarajevo will be a city open in itself and open to the outside. There will be full freedom of movement of persons, goods, services and capital between the federation and the Republika Srpska also in the Sarajevo area. Neither the federation nor the Republika Srpska will establish controls at the boundaries between the two entities. Residents of one entity will have the right to work also in the other entity.

The areas to be transferred to the federation in Sarajevo will be part of the unified city of Sarajevo. From March 19 until the elections that will take place later in this year, federation authorities will act together with the Serb representatives elected in these areas in 1990. If the opcina "Nacelnik" is from the federation, the president of the opcina council will be from the Serb council members elected in 1990, and all questions affecting civil, legal or national rights of the local population

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will be decided through consultation between the opcina "Nacelnik" and the president of the council.

The details of the future organisation of the unified Sarajevo are yet to be decided. Bosniacs, Croats, Serbs and others from Sarajevo will participate fully through their elected representatives in determining the details of the organisation of the city of Sarajevo in accordance with the constitution of the federation. The Joint Civilian Commission Sarajevo will provide a forum for discussing these questions in all their aspects with a view to reassure all peoples and citizens in Sarajevo that their legitimate interests and concerns are duly taken into account.

The return of refugees and displaced persons will happen in a voluntary, orderly and phased manner and will work in both directions. No one, including refugees and displaced persons from other regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be required to leave their present accommodation without being offered alternatives.

The protection of the human and political rights of each and everyone in Sarajevo will be assured. The rights and freedoms set forth in the European convention for the protection of human rights apply directly.

The transfer of authority to the federation in the five suburbs will be completed by 19 March. During the preceding period, a plan will be finalised and implemented to establish an integrated and representative federation police force, the composition of which will approximate to the ratio of Bosniacs, Serbs and Croat population shown in the 1991 election census in each opcina.

During this transition period, the police to be established in accordance with the federation laws will be formed and introducted into the opcinas on a gradual basis as determined by the situation in the respective opcinas. We will actively encourage existing and qualified officers and men in the present Serb police force, subject to certification of the IPTF, to join.

This police force will operate under the active monitoring of the international police task force. Individual policemen will have ID cards issued by the IPTF and will operate according to the guidelines issued by the IPTF. IFOR will maintain an enhanced presence in these areas in order to contribute to the general security.

There will be mechanisms for individual complaints to be heard and addressed by representatives of the international community.

B-H: Rome Meeting Statement on Mostar

LD1902173296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Feb 19 (TANJUG)—A document on Mostar adopted at a meeting of the enlarged Contact Group in Rome on Sunday said that a comprehensive solution for the integration of Mostar as a unified city had been provided and that complete and unlimited freedom of movement for all would come into force on February 20.

The text of the Rome agreement on Mostar is as follows:

The E.U. Presidency in consultation with the administrator of Mostar has provided the parties with a comprehensive solution for the integration of Mostar as a unified city, including the delimitation of the central zone. The parties have adopted this comprehensive solution (see the map in annex, which will come into effect with the measures at a) and b) below at 12:00 hrs at 20 February) and the following steps of implementation:

A) The deployment of the unified police force of Mostar under the authority of the administrator will start on 20 of February at 12:00 hrs commencing by joint patrols. In order to strengthen and accelerate the unification process, the administrator will have at his disposal 100 additional police officers seconded from Croatia as well as 100 additional police officers from Bosnia-Herzegovina (sent from outside Mostar).

B) On 20 February at 12:00 hours complete and unlimited freedom of movement for all will come into effect in the city of Mostar.

C) Refugees and displaced persons will be allowed to return to all areas of Mostar and, with respect to the central zone, their return will be organized in a phased arrangement in accordance with the following criteria:

—A significant area of the central zone will be, with the financial support of the European Union, reserved for public use and for the encouragement of local cultural activities.

—In implementing the arrangements for the return of refugees, only a limitd part of the central zone will be available for residential accommodation.

—Only those with the legal right to residence at the time of the 1991 census will be entitled to return.

—The process will start with empty flats and houses one month after the decree of the interim statute has come into force.

—Other owners will be entitled to return only when there is adequate alternative housing for refugees now living within in the central zone.

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2) The two parties have asked the E.U. to prolong for six months the mandate of the European administration.

3) The E.U. will monitor compliance with this agreement and the presidency is prepared to recommend a review of the relationship between the E.U. and any non compliant party.

B-H: Warring Factions Agree To Free All Prisoners

AU1802173796 Paris AFP in English 1712 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Feb 18 (AFP)—Bosnia's former warring factions have agreed the "immediate and definitive release of all prisoners," Italy's Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli announced at the end of the international summit here Sunday [18 February].

At the end of two days of talks designed to reaffirm the stalled Dayton agreement, she said all sides had agreed to restore dialogue and participate in joint commissions, and that Mostar, divided between Moslems and Croats, would be a "united city."

B-H: Croatian Deputy Minister on Contact Group Talks

LD1902113696 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 18 Feb 96

[Studio interview with Ivo Simonovic, first deputy foreign minister, by announcer Dubravko Merlic—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Merlic] Let us welcome our guest this evening: Ivo Simonovic, first deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia. Good evening.

[Simonovic] Good evening.

[Merlic] Welcome back from Rome. You were a member of our delegation at this Rome weekend on Dayton, so to speak. [passage omitted]

[Merlic] Another interesting point was the bilateral meeting between the Croatian delegation and the delegation of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] or, rather, the delegation headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The statement from that meeting was very brief—only three or four sentences, which stress that the two sides will work on improving relations and on normalization as part of the process of overall normalization in the region. Is mutual recognition of the two states any closer after the meeting today?

[Simonovic] There is no doubt that it is closer. In addition to the discussion on speeding up the process of normalizing relations, the statement, however short it was, contains some important elements. It says that what is at issue is not only the interest of the two states but also of the Croatian and Serbian peoples, and that this [normalization of relations] will contribute to ensuring peace and stability in the region. The emphasis on the interest of the Croatian and Serbian peoples puts the issue of recognition in the right context and highlights the reasons it is important for us to achieve recognition: to define relations with the Serbs in Croatia, and the international and legal borders of the Republic of Croatia.

[Merlic] You attended the meeting today?

[Simonovic] Yes.

[Merlic] I will ask you this, and you can choose whether to answer. Was the Prevlaka peninsula discussed at the meeting?

[Simonovic] Yes, Prevlaka was discussed.

[Merlic] We have learned that some independent Belgrade media reported as the main news that Croatia and the FRY will recognize each other probably as early as this month, that the FRY gave way on some aspects of the Dayton agreement on Prevlaka, and that it agreed to the demilitarization of Prevlaka. Our reports say that the issue of mutual recognition will have been solved by the time the Yugoslav foreign minister arrives on a visit to Zagreb [scheduled for the end of February]. Is there anything to confirm or deny this prediction?

[Simonovic] Journalists are freer in both making public the facts and in speculating on what will happen. That issue was discussed at the meeting. We discussed future steps, the signing of the agreements on transportation, the need to complete the process of normalization, and, naturally, that this process should culminate in recognition.

As for dates, it might be a bit too ambitious to speak about dates now. [FRY Foreign] Minister Milutinovic will certainly be in Zagreb later in February, and we expect successful talks, primarily the signing of these agreements. Of course, a package on further agreements, including the completion of the process of normalization, will be discussed as well.

[Merlic] You did not tell me anything about Prevlaka.

[Simonovic] What you said is indeed the direction in which we are heading in solving the Prevlaka issue. We were very clear earlier: Exchanges of territory are out of the question. What can be considered is demilitarization, but the demilitarization of a wider area, not only the Ostrirt promontory. The area to be demilitarized would be wider, which would make it possible for us to solve once and for all the problem of Prevlaka, which has obviously been an obstacle in the process of completing the process of normalization.

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[Merlic] So this plan of demilitarization would ensure free access of ships to Kotor Bay?

[Simonovic] A solution would be found for the access of ships and for the type of activity that can be carried out on Ostrirt promontory, as well as in the wider area of the promontory hinterland. [passage omitted]

B-H: Gen Djukic's Lawyer Visits His Client

LD1902214196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brussels, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Belgrade lawyer Toma Fila, who has been nominated by the Hague Court as legal representative of Djordje Djukic, the arrested general of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic army, visited the defendant in the investigative prison of the Hague tribunal in Scheveningen today.

According to lawyer Fila, General Djukic is being held in a prison cell but is not complaining about his treatment, although he is in rather poor health and, as a result, is being frequently taken for medical checks in one of the hospitals in The Hague. [passage omitted]

In agreement with his lawyer Fila, Gen. Djukic has decided to give no further statements to the court and the inquiry until all documents are made available to him that give the reasons for his arrest and the procedure, which in most of the media and in legal circles has been described as undignified and impermissible. [passage omitted]

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Albania: Berisha, Russia's Krylov View NATO, Kosovo

AU2002123396 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 17 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by P. Re.: "Moscow and Tirana To Reveal Each Other's Secrets"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Tirana and Moscow will reveal their secrets to each other. One of the agreements signed between Russia and Albania yesterday opens the archives of both countries to researchers. The visit begun yesterday by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Krylov has also involved a range of meetings with our country's most senior officials, including President Berisha.

During his talks with Berisha, the Russian deputy minister explained his views about the crisis in the region and bilateral relations. However, the two sides did not share the same opinion about the main problems of international events and the very sensitive issue of Kosova. The Russian side opposes the expansion of the Atlantic Alliance, even though the Albanian president on other occasions has called this an issue one "that will not threaten Russia" and has said that "cooperation with NATO will help stability in Europe." The Russian deputy minister took the opposite attitude, and said that expanding this pact involves "changes to a range of pacts," adding that "Europe's security can become more comprehensive within the framework of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe]." However, Berisha could not agree, and he stressed, "Albania is determined on intensive cooperation with NATO and on joining this alliance as soon as possible."

There were also contradictory attitudes toward Kosova. For the Albanian president, "This issue is the key to solving the problems of the Balkans, and we therefore think that it is vital to establish dialogue between Prishtina and Belgrade in the presence of a third party, which in our view should be the United States." Krylov expressed objections to the Albanian stand over not admitting Yugoslavia to the OSCE until the rights of the Albanians in Kosova are redressed.

Albania: Russia's Krylov Opposes Albania's NATO Entry

AU2002130196 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 17 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by M. Leka on news conference given by Sergey Krylov, Russian deputy foreign minister, at the Russian Embassy in Tirana on 16 February: "Krylov: No to Albania in NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "It cannot be said that we have common interests on every issue, because every country has its own interests, which it must defend," Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov said yesterday at a news conference at the Russian Embassy. The purpose of the Russian diplomat's visit to our country was to talk to his Albanian counterparts about two main problems, over which, Krylov said, the two countries embark from the same predisposition toward the need for security and guaranteed stability, peace, and economic development in Europe and the Balkans, on the basis also of bilateral agreements. One of the Russian diplomat's stands during his visit to Albania was that Russia values the stable peace in the region and appreciates further steps to expand it. He told journalists about three important documents signed with Albania:

—A program of scientific and cultural cooperation;

—A document concerning the archives of the two foreign ministries;

—A plan to exchange foreign ministry specialists.

Krylov said yesterday that his country is opposed to Albania's NATO membership, but also to NATO membership for other East and Central European countries. He said that his country is opposed to NATO expansion, because it would be against his country's national interests. "We have different viewpoints over the NATO's future," the Russian diplomat said, "because the NATO's expansion could lead to a new era of division in our continent. It would not be to the good of Europe if the countries of Central and East Europe were to join NATO." It has meanwhile been reported that President Berisha did not support Krylov's idea at their meeting yesterday. Berisha said, "I consider NATO to be the main factor for peace and stability in Europe and beyond, and I see it as an alliance that is not directly against any particular state." During his conversation with Krylov, Berisha went on to express Albania's determination to join NATO. On the issue of Kosova, Krylov said that political discussions remain the only way of solving these problems. They must be without preconditions or direct or indirect ultimatums, because such things, according to him, would lead to failure. The Russian diplomat denied any possibility of communism returning to Russia even after a victory of the communists. Asked whether he was aware of the charge that the Serbian secret service is financing via Moscow the newspaper KOHA JONE, the Russian diplomat replied, "I am well aware of such an accusation, but, if we possessed so much money, we would use it to build better

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embassy premises here in Tirana," thus refuting the bogus accusations raised recently by the official Albanian press.

Albania: Berisha's Rally in Synej Seen as 'Fiasco'

AU1702184696 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Feb 96 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Proof of Failure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha's quick visit to the village of Synej has not been relegated to the fringe of our consciousness in the last few days: It was here that he tried with the help of a moving speech to revive in the middle of this cold winter popular enthusiasm for the allegedly superb successes of the Democratic Party [PD] government. The television transmitted and even repeated it. It was nevertheless smothered in indifference. Why did this dress rehearsal in Synej for the election campaign fail? Why did people flee from the PD like the devil from incense, and why have the days of its enthusiastic rallies gone for good? Why are there no more packed halls, victory salutes, and shouts of "freedom democracy?" Synej failed because of Berisha. People are so used to seeing his picture on television and the front pages of newspapers that, we must regretfully admit, they find it a kind of irritation, a reduction of their scope for free thought and of their intellectual range, an act of violence against their political judgment. However, this is not the only reason why the rally at Synej failed. The head of state went there in order to commemorate an event that happened there six years ago, while it had not occurred to anybody to celebrate its fifth anniversary. The organizers of the rally did not manage to muster a crowd of more than 200-300 children or to improvise more than a few victory salutes from passersby. There was the occasional cry of "freedom democracy." That was the scale of the fiasco.

The purpose of this exhibition was threefold. First, to test whether the forthcoming electoral campaign could be conducted with the help of rallies. In other words, whether they could repeat the runup to 22 March [elections in 1992] and to the referendum [constitutional referendum of 6 November 1994], the first remembered as a sensational victory, the second as an equally sensational failure. It seems that the PD will not be in any position to mount an election campaign with rallies. This was the blunt message of Synej. Second, following the problems and the climate that have now been created, this rehearsal at Synej was to see if the slogans against communism (already on its deathbed at the time) can gather people again round the PD banner. This part of the scenario failed too. Third, the Synej rally was an attempt to see whether the people would accept the PD bosses in the electoral campaign, not only not demanding an account of what was promised to them four years ago, but swallowing new promises. If nothing else, this is political naivety. The PD once used people to gain votes. It has now set off on the disastrous path of using votes to seize people's souls, at a time when they have cooled significantly toward the PD. People are weary of the often tragicomic struggle the PD has waged against communism. The old banners no longer hold good for new wars. What is more, the political behavior of Mr. Berisha and the PD bosses is in itself a filthy throwback to communist methods. People demand accountability, and the members of government are terrified of any hint of this. "What did you do with my vote, sir?" This question will remain unanswered throughout the PD's electoral campaign. People's votes have been misused. Mr. Berisha's attempted dress rehearsal at Synej for a possible lightning campaign full of pathos and winged words also failed for another reason. It puts the inspirer of these rallies in a quandary. If he organizes rallies, all the other political parties, at least the 13 that constitute the serious Albanian opposition, will also hold r[illegible]. Any confrontation on this road would be certain f[illegible]. He has therefore chosen the road of manipulating the law. However, a campaign managed by illegal methods is also a limitation of democracy.

Albania: PS Leadership Accused of Ties With Milosevic

AU1902112996 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 13 Feb 96 p 3

[Article by Dukagjin Hata: "The Suborned Socialists of Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialist Party [PS] leadership that rules the country's largest opposition party with the methods of the KGB, the UDBA [initials of Yugoslav state security service in years immediately after World War II], and the vestiges of the Albanian secret police is continuing to sell itself and to convert its name into the secret codes of bank accounts. A fax from Belgrade that recently reached the office of former interior minister Ruci confirms the enthusiastic desire of the Socialist Party of Serbia to have its counterpart from Tirana attend the congress of Milosevic's party, to be held on 2-3 March. This sign of cooperation from Serbia comes just after the publication in the Albania media of the most sensational political scandal of recent years concerning Belgrade's funding for Socialist deputies, the Socialist leadership, and the Socialist newspaper KOHA JONE. This shocking discovery by a foreign news agency did not cause any great panic in the PS leadership, which is now used to playing political

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cards and having them exposed in this way. However, discontent from the grass roots and from that section of the party that is not implicated in the base calculations of the headquarters of continuity [reference to the Albanian Workers Party Ninth Congress, "the congress of continuity" in 1986], was so widespread that it hastened the departure of waverers and those dissatisfied by the way the PS political platform has been converted into bloated salaries and luxurious cars and villas provided by the party's anti-Albanian patrons beyond our administrative borders. These people, once aware of its wretched role in this filthy history of horse-trading, could not fail to remember that their role as yesmen to the dogmatic PS bosses was more recent than Enver Hoxha's genuflections to Tito, was more recent than the official sell-out of Kosova by the dictator Hoxha and his faithful disciple Ramiz Alia, and more recent than.... Only a short time ago, the PS's Enverologist Moikom Zeqo and the chairman of national anarchy and Socialist ally Idajet Beqiri [chairman of the National Unity Party] were caught attempting to cross the border to Montenegro illegally.

Meanwhile, the Albanian press has been seething over a typical anti-Albanian statement by the Eurosocialist Youth Forum [FRESH] made in Greece, which defends Serbia and the criminal ultranationalism of Slobodan Milosevic. This statement, which expressed the Socialists' acquiescence in the sell-out of the country, was repudiated by Majko [FRESH Chairman Pandeli Majko] who admitted, "There are pro-Serbian elements in the PS Presidium" and was supported in this by voices in the press and political analysts.

The secret meeting of Ruci's envoys in Sofia, to take part in the creation of the Communist International, was another touchstone that incriminated the Albanian Socialists, whose political platform has remained true to proletarian internationalism.

This, in broad outlines, is an account of the deals between Belgrade and the Socialists in Tirana up to the point when a fax from Milosevic's Socialists arrived at PS headquarters. Will the Albanian Socialist bosses attend the congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia at the beginning of March? In order to answer this question, Gramoz Ruci summoned Pellumbi, Dokle, and Meta to his office for a secret meeting, at which it is not known what was decided. However, there is every possibility that the Albanian Socialists, sullied and scarred enough by financial and political scandals, will not respond to Milosevic's invitation, despite their obligations to Belgrade. Perhaps they will have to devise some formula to pacify their patrons, who might be annoyed, or will send illegally, with a false passport, some still untainted fanatic, who will convey to Milosevic enthusiastic guarantees of the trustworthiness of the Albanian Socialists, whose political clock chimes in tune with that of Belgrade.

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Bulgaria: Videnov Stance on FRY Bulgarians Criticized

AU2002122896 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Feb 96 p 6

[Commentary by Georgi Apostolov: "Unfinished Political Visit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While adhering to the cabinet's assessment that Prime Minister Zhan Videnov's visit to neighboring Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FRY] was timely and beneficial, one must point out that the visit left the impression that something remained unfinished. Denying the existence of topical problems in politics never leads to their solution.

The issue remained open of whether Videnov's declaration, prior to his departure, that the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia is enjoying all legal rights, was a matter of poor tactics or a deliberate step. Both sides know that this does not correspond to the truth, and this was confirmed by the fact that the issue was raised during the talks. If the Bulgarian prime minister thought that, by unilaterally erasing the problem, Bulgaria would maneuver itself into a better position to receive concessions in other areas, he merely demonstrated political inadequacy. When haggling, no one deliberately eliminates his own trump cards. Naturally, after such a beginning, Belgrade's claims regarding a Serbian minority in Bulgaria was eliminated from the agenda. In this context, it is high time that Serbia was told that any attempts to invent a problem in Bulgaria that actually exists in Serbia will be futile.

Indeed, Belgrade clearly demonstrated how they are viewing the "goodwill gesture" of our prime minister by including the scandalous Human Rights Minister Margit Savovic in the official Yugoslav delegation. This is the same Savovic who tries to teach the Bulgarian politicians in Sofia that they should relinquish the use of the name Western Outlands, which is incorporated in an international treaty. She did this after declaring that she has no mandate to negotiate on the situation of the Bulgarians in Serbia, despite the fact that this is precisely why she was invited to Sofia. Unfortunately, at the time, her arrogance prompted the indignation of the press and political and public figures. However, her behavior appears to have been logical, since, prior to her visit, the Bulgarian prime minister allowed himself to speak about Eastern Serbia rather than about the Western Outlands. Subsequently, the attempt of the Belgrade authorities to intensify the assimilation of the Bulgarians in the Western Outlands by transferring large groups of Serbian refugees from the former Krajina appears to be logical. This proves that the concern, that expressing a justified alarm regarding the situation of our compatriots in Serbia would aggravate things, actually turned everything upside down.

This example alone should be enough for the Bulgarian politicians, who should understand that unilateral concessions not only do not produce political dividends, but, on the contrary, lead toward exacerbating the problems and bilateral relations. The Bulgarian minorities in neighboring countries could really become a bridge of good-neighborly relations and understanding, but only when they obtain the rights and recognition they are entitled to. In this context, the fact that the Bulgarian politicians relinquished them directly hurt our national interests. Similar gestures of "goodwill" only evoke a temptation in the relevant authorities to eliminate the problem from the root—through an active assimilation or through totally depriving our compatriots from the right to participate in the political, economic, and social life of the host country. Both countries do not gain anything from such a development. However, both countries could benefit from openly posing the problems and discussing them in the most sincere manner, by constantly protecting the rights of the Bulgarian minorities, which have been guaranteed by international treaties and conventions.

In this particular case, Yugoslavia could gain the loyalty of many citizens by giving the Bulgarians full political and economic rights and integrating them in the Western Outlands. Then, thanks to their historical proximity to Bulgaria, they could really facilitate bilateral contacts, something that would not only not violate the interests of their second motherland, but, on the contrary, would serve them. What full-fledged citizen who enjoys full and equal rights would hurt the interests of his own state? And vice versa, Bulgaria's silent indifference would give a green light to all kinds of state officials—from the low-ranking to the high-ranking ones—to select the easiest way of "coping" with the problem by totally ignoring it.

Obviously, contacts between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are yet to intensify and expand. Both countries would benefit if the Bulgarian politicians finally remembered the long-forgotten Bulgarians in neighboring countries and began to consistently protect their rights.

Bulgaria: Videnov Views Mass Privatization Progress

AU1902190996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 19 February the cabinet held an extraordinary meeting at which the progress of mass privatization was analyzed. After the meeting, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov said:

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[Begin recording] The process of mass social privatization is the road along which we think the decisive restructuring of the Bulgarian industry must be approached, in accordance with the requirements of the 21st century and in a suitable socioeconomic and sociopolitical situation.

We made all the efforts and some five weeks ago successfully started the process of mass privatization.

Until the present moment, some 5.5 percent of the people who potentially have the possibility of participating in mass privatization have registered for participation in the process. This is a higher percentage than in the other East European countries that in recent years have applied this mechanism. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied with the percentage and in the next months we will intensify our propaganda and clarification activity.

We will try to answer the myriad of questions. We are pleased with this fact, because it indicates the interest of the simple people, the millions of Bulgarians, toward the mass privatization process. We will try to give maximally honest, professional, and reliable information regarding the enterprises included in the mass privatization list.

We will try to cooperate in a constructive manner with the privatization funds and utilize their experience for the benefit of the holders of privatization coupons during the decisive moment of transforming them into shares of Bulgarian enterprises. [end recording]

Bulgaria: 'Thousands of Turks' Rally in Kurdzhali

TA1802091996 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 17 Feb 96

[Erhan Anzerlioglu video report from Kurdzhali]

[FBIS Translated Text] Many Turks living in and outside Bulgaria participated in a rally staged in Kurdzhali today to protest the cancellation of municipal elections won by Rasim Musa, a member of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]. The demonstrators here in Liberation Square shouted slogans in support of the DPS and Rasim Musa.

Thousands of Turks arrived by bus to attend the rally, which started at 1300. The Bulgarian police took extensive security measures. At the rally, DPS leader Ahmet Dogan criticized the policies of the ruling Socialist Party and said it should not play with fire. Musa said efforts were made to turn the Kurdzhali elections into a national problem and to artificially create an atmosphere of tension. He went on to say that opposition parties are supporting the DPS, that he won the elections by a majority of 658 votes, and that only two votes were found to be invalid. Other speakers said that the democratic struggle being waged in Kurdzhali must be won. Otherwise, they said, there will be no turning back.

The demonstrators frequently shouted slogans calling for unity. The rally lasted about two and a half hours. There were no incidents.

The ruling political groups, which are ultranationalistic and seek to escalate the tension, have applied to the Constitutional Court on charges that the DPS is an ethnic party. Meanwhile, the DPS decided to remove Yasar Saban from office after Saban, as acting mayor of Kurdzhali, failed to carry out his duties during this period of election cancellations and trials. We learned from the people and from the regional governor's office that this duty is now being performed by Mrs. (Hunusheva), the municipal secretary.

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Czech Republic: FRY Intelligence Focusing on Republic

AU2002115196 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 15 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Sabina Slonkova: "Yugoslav Espionage Is Interested in the Republic, Claims BIS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Security Information Service [BIS] claims in its annual report for last year that the intelligence services of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—that is, Serbia and Montenegro—have started to focus their activities, first and foremost, on the Czech Republic [CR].

Civilian counterintelligence maintains that the Yugoslav secret services were previously interested virtually exclusively in the states of the former Yugoslavia. "Now they are focusing primarily on the CR," wrote BIS in its report.

The BIS findings also correspond to reports that some military espionage officers have. "This orientation by the Yugoslav secret services is, with all probability, associated with the CR's activities in settling the Balkans conflict and with our participation in the IFOR [Impelementation Force] mission. We are one of the most active of the countries of the former Eastern bloc," said one of the military intelligence officers.

At the same time, BIS sees a number of risks in the working of Yugoslav espionage. Civilian counterintelligence also ranks among them the possibility that these services could create the conditions for terrorist acts. According to the BIS annual report, attacks could be aimed not only against military rivals in the Balkans, but, in view of the CR's participation in the IFOR mission, also against facilities in this country.

The chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Committee, Jiri Payne (Civic Democratic Party), also referred to a similar danger last December. He said that the IFOR units could drive armed men or terrorist groups out of the Balkans into Central Europe. "These people have nothing to lose; they could exact their revenge on us. All they know is how to wage war," said Payne.

The Interior Ministry afterwards made light of Payne's concerns. Deputy Minister Martin Fendrych described Payne's forecast as improbable. He even said that, to date, BIS had not given any information to the ministry or the police about any extraordinary movement by groups that have contacts in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. "It is admittedly a serious risk but just a potential one," said the ministry's spokesman, Jan Subert.

The FRY Embassy has not responded to the findings of BIS, findings that concern the activities of the Yugoslav secret services, even though the embassy's counselor was given written questions last week.

Civilian counterintelligence is also juxtaposing the new orientation of the Yugoslav secret services with the fact that, according to its findings, all of the staff of the diplomatic mission in Prague and the cover firms for Yugoslav intelligence have been replaced. BIS stated in its annual report that the Yugoslav spies are interested, for example, in information on all of the congresses of the political parties in this country and their policy statements. They are especially interested in the right-wing parties.

The Yugoslav secret services, according to BIS, are also interested in the state's domestic policy, privatization, and restitution of the industrial sector, and in the development of the CR's relations with the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, first and foremost Croatia.

Czech Republic: Havel on Russian Elections, NATO

LD1802201296 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 18 Feb 96

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Eva Hulkova on 18 February; place not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hulkova] [Passage omitted] The results of the presidential elections in Russia will surely have some impact on us. Could you tell us something about them? How is the situation going to develop, what are the indications?

[Havel] You quite rightly said that all things were interrelated. Any kind of isolationism is inconceivable in the world of today. It is naive to believe that, for example, the Czech Republic, a country right in the center of Europe, could withdraw into its shell, hoist a flag of pseudoneutrality, and say that it is to become something like Switzerland. This is really not possible in today's world.

Of course, the developments in Russia are vital to the whole world and even more so to us. I do not know who will win the presidential elections in Russia. However, I know that those elections are very important. Under the present Russian constitutional system, presidential elections are much more important than parliamentary elections. A great deal will depend on the results of those elections.

In my view, there are two issues of utmost importance, both from our and the global point of view. First,

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the reforms in Russia should continue, and democracy, democratic institutions, and democratic thinking should become gradually more stable. That process is by far much more complicated and demanding in that vast empire than in our country.

Second, there is another issue, which is related to the first one. It is important that there should not start to prevail in Russia and especially in foreign politics voices and tones that, unfortunately, are recently becoming more pronounced or more frequent. Those voices represent attempts at stressing one's own superpower status, one's own weight and importance—all that linked to some kind of claims to spheres of possible interest. Of course, those spheres are called other names. They are called the spheres of a possible threat.

All that is rhetoric, which is only too well known to us from the past. The very fact that such voices are becoming stronger and more numerous is, to some extent, caused by a certain hesitation and bewilderment, restraint, and sluggishness on the part of the West. [passage omitted]

There are ever more and stronger voices saying that any expansion, especially of the North Atlantic Alliance, eastward—that is, into Central Europe—is considered by Russia as some kind of a new Cold War and a threat to itself.

These are signs of a totally old, Cold War, bipolar view on matters and represent a misunderstanding of the present-day world, which is really heading for the setting up of regional, mutually cooperating structures. The latter does not go against Russia, but it is the development of a natural order within Central Europe.

Central Europe is a component part of the West European political and spiritual sphere. It is totally absurd to deny Central Europe this kinship under the pretext of some threat to oneself. Such voices need not have emerged at all had the West been more energetic and faster. It is not the case that Russian opposition to expansion results in the restraint I have mentioned. On the contrary, this restraint calls forth the Russian interest and eventually its opposition [to expansion] because it shows that the West is not sure whether Central Europe fully belongs with it, as if the West saw or respected some traces left behind by the former Iron Curtain. This directly stimulates various powers, especially the more extremist powers in Russia, to deduce the only possible conclusion from this—namely, that this is still in fact their sphere of influence and they would be stupid not to claim some right to influence in that part of the world. That is not good because it smells of expansionism. And where will all that end? [passage omitted]

The world order cannot be built on that. The world order can only be built on cooperation between various identities [identita], various political and cultural entities.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, what can we do right now in this situation? What can our diplomats and politicians do? Are they doing enough?

[Havel] First, we must not succumb to any kind of panic. We must say what we think in a calm, matter-of-fact, and detached way. We even need not fear certain critical or warning voices, whoever they are addressed to.

In my view, the present situation is not too good. It is over six years since the fall of communism, and there still are no signs of an emerging new order appropriate to this era at the end of the 20th century. The situation is not too good, but it clearly will not be good to make use of this bad situation in a populist way, stressing in any way national issues or, on the contrary, any ideas of provincial isolationism. I am in favor of a matter-of-fact approach and openness.

[Hulkova] [Passage omitted] Do we have to be afraid of terrorism?

[Havel] [Passage omitted] By becoming an open society we are not a priori immune to this danger. [passage omitted] This fact speaks in favor of our full participation in international activities fighting such a type of terrorism. No national interest, not even the most authentic one, may serve as an excuse for things such as those done or threatened to be done by Mr. Dudayev. As you know, I condemn Russia's policy on Chechnya. I consider it dilettantish, undemocratic, and bad from start to finish. That does not mean though that there is any excuse for bandits and terrorists. Absolutely not! [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Zieleniec Views Relations With Russia

AU1602173696 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Feb 96 p 11

[Article by Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec: "Europe Is Also to the East of Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The foreign political interests of our country do not lie only to the west of our border, even if at present their focal point is there. For 40 years we have been artificially separated from West Europe, from the structures that were created there and contributed to the security and prosperity of this space. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that we are now trying to make up for what we have missed, that we are intensively and multilaterally developing relations with West European nations.

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Of course, this does not mean that we are not aware of Europe east of us. What is happening in the space of the former Soviet Union is important not only in its global context but also in its direct impact on our present.

Our relationship—and when I say our, I do not mean in the first place the state or the government—to the post-Soviet countries and to Russia, in particular, is certainly still marked by the fact that we have been for 40 years involuntarily tied to the Moscow empire by a network of diverse bonds. The bonds have been broken, but they have left their mark. Our priority now is to shake off this past. This in a way determines the main principles of our Eastern policy: We wish for good and intensive relations in the East, too, but we want to develop them as a firm part of the West. Our policy cannot allow any gamble regarding the state's place in the geopolitical sense.

We maintain pragmatic working relations with the Russian Federation, which certainly is for the Czech Republic by far the most important country in this region. At the same time, we keep constantly in mind that these must be relations between two independent sovereign states, symmetrical and equal relations. Therefore, a certain easily understandable caution can be detected on our part. There is also an emphasis when we need to say things as indisputable as that our joining NATO is an issue that can be subject to discussion only between NATO and ourselves.

On the other hand, we consider it a matter of fact that Russia cannot be ignored when forming a security system in Europe and the world. Russia should bear an appropriate share of responsibility for the international development on the continent and in the world. It is important that a permanent dialogue take place between NATO and Russia.

We have observed that the more successful we are in our endeavors to root our country firmly in European structures, the better we are able to implement an intensive, open, and dynamic policy in the East.

From this vantage point, it is very valuable that we are already members of the OECD because it is an important sign of our affiliation with the Western democracies. If we start from these positions, we can even build on the once branched out contacts with the countries of the former USSR and on the practical knowledge of the entire Eastern space. Compared with those countries that had the good fortune to be on the other side of the Iron Curtain, we have the advantage of a deeper understanding and sharper vision of the development in the Eastern countries, especially Russia. At times, thanks to this immediate experience, the view of Russia from Prague can differ from that from Washington or London but, as regards the basic political stands, they are the same here as in the Western metropolises. I have frequently confirmed this in discussions with colleagues not only from large but especially from small European countries.

Now, when reflections on the possible deterioratiob of the political situation in the Russian Federation are appearing in the world press, I would like to emphasize that a reinforcement of a free, democratic, and economically prospering Russia is in the interest of the entire world. Whatever happens in Russia will have tremendous significance for global development. Therefore, we, too, in accordance with the democratic world, are trying to contribute within the framework of our possibilities to the success of democratic values there. Incidentally, Russia has made great progress in this respect. Regular democratic elections, for instance, took place there in December. This in itself is a great sign of progress for the entire world.

Regarding economic relations with Russia, we have passed through a complex development. The Czech Republic is no longer a state of economic planning. Foreign economic relations are developed by individual economic entities rather than by the state. We have absorbed this principal change very successfully. Our enterprises have managed to follow up on the tradition of our brands on this market. The businessmen themselves must now weigh the risks in establishing contractual relations with the entities in the Russian Federation. The fact that they consider the degree of risk acceptable is a good sign not only for our Eastern policy but also for Russia itself.

We are paying great attention to Ukraine, on the one hand because of the great economic potential of that country and, on the other, because it is a state that, with its very emergence and now its policy, influences the new structural arrangement of East European space. The existence and stability of this new independent state in East Europe also has key significance for the stability of the new situation in Central Europe.

In short, our policy toward the East is balanced and takes into account both the priority of our endeavors to integrate into the family of West European countries, with whom we have shared values for centuries, and our interest in multilateral newly conceived relations with all post-Soviet states. We support their independence and sovereignty and their orientation toward cooperation within the framework of the entire Europe. For ourselves, we insist in these relations on guarantees of as free an approach as possible to the markets and sources of raw materials in the post-Soviet space. It is a policy implemented by the West European countries

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toward this region, and it is one that we quite naturally joined.

Czech Republic: Klaus on Czech-German Declaration, EU

AU1602121496 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Feb 96 p 5

[Article by Martin Manak: "Parliament Hour With the Prime Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday's oral parliamentary questions for the prime minister in the so-called hour with the prime minister were mainly devoted to Czech-German relations and Czech entry into the EU. Eight deputies managed to question Vaclav Klaus.

Social democratic deputy Josef Wagner accused the chamber of "refusing to consider the concerns of millions about the fate of the state" when it did not include on the agenda a discussion of Czech-German relations. "When do you want to sign the [Czech-German joint] declaration?" he asked Vaclav Klaus. The prime minister observed that he must ask "what we are going to sign and with whom." He emphasized that the government is patiently and carefully striving to find the next step in Czech-German relations. "If we had the text of the document in front of us and if it were worth signing, rest assured we would have signed it long ago because it is in our best interests," Klaus stated. "It would be good if you did not use this platform for tough gestures concerning this topic," the prime minister advised Deputy Wagner. Wagner then accused the government of preventing the signature of the treaty: "You are preventing peace, Prime Minister!"

In the answer to the interpellation by Vaclav Exner (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia), the prime minister again confirmed regarding our joining the EU: "I would not object to even such an extraordinary tool as a referendum."

Unaffiliated deputy Jiri Soler wanted to know whether or not the EU is democratic. The prime minister described this question as a discussion topic for the second half of the 1990's. He expressed the conviction that these problems will be dealt with by the March intergovernmental conference. "Let us not attempt to give conditions to the EU. It would be a nonsensical, futile effort, and no one stands to gain from it," Klaus added.

Deputy Hana Orgonikova (Czech Social Democratic Party) stated that many restitution claims, particularly regarding the property of the aristocracy, have been settled contrary to law and asked for such claims to be rejected. "There is no general answer to this. It is necessary to discuss a specific instance," Klaus said. "I will supply specific cases," Orgonikova promised.

The prime minister was also addressed by Deputies Jan Vik (Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia) in the matter of his prosecution, Jan Krycer (Bohemian and Moravian Center Union) in the matter of the U Sabotu settlement, and communists Dalibor Maculka and Jan Navratil (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia) in the matter of highway bypasses.

Czech Republic: Lux: Coalition Loyalty Breached by ODS

AU1902105796 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Feb 96 p 1

[Interview with KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux by Miroslav Korecky; place and date not given: "Not Everything Can Be Entrusted to the Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Another verbal exchange took place in the coalition last week when the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] called upon the People's Party to leave the coalition if it supports the opposition's law on pensions. We discussed in more general terms the relationship between the coalition and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] with its chairman, Josef Lux.

[Korecky] In your opinion, why, in the second half of the electoral term, is your party being commended more and more by Milos Zeman and Jiri Dienstbier and less and less by Vaclav Klaus?

[Lux] I do not accept this analogy. Moreover, the reason for the existence of our party is not to strive for praise from this or that person. We are an independent entity that formulates its own policy and does so for the voters who reject the relativization of the system of values and who identify with the tenets of a social market economy.

[Korecky] Do you think the world you are striving for is sufficiently similar to the ODS's world, for example, for you to be able to be in a coalition with it in the future?

[Lux] There are major differences in our policy; therefore there are also these two entities. We feel that the ODS is staking too much on the market alone. We maintain that not everything can be entrusted to the market, that it is necessary to have a measure of state influence. Because the KDU-CSL assumed responsibility for agriculture, its transformation has been successfully overcome. On the other hand, health care is proof that, if a sphere with public interest is surrendered completely to the market, it does not turn out well.

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[Korecky] Despite this, do you feel solidarity with the two civic parties?

[Lux] Undoubtedly. After the last elections, we agreed on the basic reform steps, and we also carried them out together. The level of harmony exceeds fundamentally the level of disharmony. Furthermore, in many of the coalition disagreements about the future shape of the state, the ODS is more likely to be on the other side alone.

[Korecky] What, then, is the objective of your probing in the center of the political spectrum?

[Lux] I held talks with Mr. Dienstbier out of responsibility for the voters who are willing to vote for the Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party because I am aware that these are proreform voters. I would consider it a pity if these votes were forfeited in the elections.

[Korecky] Why do your deputies often vote in the Chamber with the opposition? Where do you see the limits of coalition loyalty?

[Lux] Our deputies vote with the opposition less than the ODS deputies. If the issue involves the law on pensions, it is necessary to look at the entire origin of this matter. Coalition loyalty was breached by the arrogance on the part of the ODS, which did not listen to our opinion. This has its repercussions.

[Korecky] Will the coalition hold together at least until the elections?

[Lux] it will undoubtedly hold together. We do not intend to resign from it. I view the ODS's comments about expulsion as merely a gaffe.

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Slovakia: More Active Policy Toward U.S., NATO Urged

AU2002103296 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Feb 96 p 7

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "The United States Is Preparing Front Yard in Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S.'s direct involvement in the solution to the Balkans conflict—involvement not only in Bosnia, as might appear at first glance—indicates that it is changing its policy also in this part of Europe, in the western part of which it has been directly involved since the end of World War II.

Washington has already gained a foothold in Albania and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and, by cutting the Bosnian knot through the creation of a Muslim-Croat federation and the de facto recognition of a Serbian state entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it has formed, for all practical purposes, a north-south corridor between existing members of the North Atlantic Alliance—that is, between Germany and Italy on one side and Greece and Turkey on the other.

It is therefore small wonder that the flying U.S. emissary Richard Holbrooke, nicknamed *"Diplomator"* [diplomator], uses the last days of his glory in the diplomatic skies also to stabilize the adjacent region. During his recent visit to Bucharest, he called directly on Romania and Hungary to solve their dispute by concluding a historical settlement and appealed to all Central European countries to shed historical burdens in the name of their own future. This appeal concerns also Slovak-Hungarian and, in a broader context, Czech-Slovak-German relations, which, in contrast to Polish-German relations, are still waiting for festive fanfares. Surely Slovakia has also carefully registered the information that the United States wants to stay on its military bases in southern Hungary beyond the anticipated duration of its expeditionary units' participation in Bosnia. Moreover, during the visit of Pentagon deputy chief White to Budapest, the two sides agreed that a firing range for live ammunition would also be made available to U.S. troops. This means nothing other than the, for the time being indirect, expansion of the U.S. security umbrella over neighboring Hungary, without our southern neighbor's becoming a regular NATO member. In this way, our southern neighbor would obtain a position not dissimilar to that of Spain before its admission to NATO, when, through a bilateral treaty with the United States, Spain indirectly became a member of the alliance. It is hoped this acceleration of developments in our region will prompt Slovak policy to stop marking time and to step up its activity in the direction of the United States and NATO because much more is at stake than might appear at first glance.

It seems that Washington is already getting ready for a possible change of direction in Moscow, regardless of whether Boris Yeltsin keeps or one of his challengers from the communist or nationalist camps gains power.

The reaction by the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the words of the Russian ambassador to Slovakia [in an interview for the 8 February issue of the Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES] could be the first swallow in this respect, just like Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's words, pronounced as though in passing, that Slovak-Russian relations have expressly economic foundations. The problem is that the ties between economy and policy are much stronger than might be clear to us.

The Kinkel-Meciar meeting and, more recently, the Vranitzky-Meciar meeting are therefore being analyzed carefully, apparently also in the West. After a longer period of time, these meetings could be the long-awaited unequivocal indication of where Bratislava is heading, particularly in conjunction with the fact that the political career of the Slovak prime minister's partner in Moscow, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, is evidently drawing to an end.

Slovakia: Meciar Seeks Objectivity for Future EU Members

LD1602214596 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1740 GMT 16 Feb 96

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Michal Tvarozek; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tvarozek] Jean-Claude Paye, the secretary general of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, said at a news conference in Bratislava that Slovakia could be a member of his organization in a few months' time. [passage omitted]

In connection with this, I would like to return to the subject of the visit by EU Commissioner Hans van den Broek. Both he and the aforementioned Mr. Paye rated our economic results highly, but they also indicated that there remained unresolved problems, in particular—and here I quote Mr. Paye, that is, his press secretary—as far as minorities and freedom of the press are concerned.

[Meciar] We would welcome the setting of objective criteria for prospective EU member states because we can see that there are a great many subjective factors or influences or sometimes even feelings involved. For example, southern EU countries lobby on behalf

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of Malta and Cyprus; Finland and Sweden lobby on behalf of the Baltic republics; and the Federal Republic of Germany speaks out in favor of Poland and the Czech Republic, sometimes adding Hungary or even us. Everyone has his favorites for new EU members, which in my view should not be the case. That is why I welcome the Madrid assurances that the criteria will be made objective.

As far as our society is concerned, I do not think there is a legislative problem concerning minority policy in Slovakia. In fact,. relations have been defined. I do not even think that [words indistinct] between Slovaks and [ethnic] Hungarians as citizens of the same state—that is, they are all citizens of the Slovak Republic. There is in some symptoms of politics [as heard] a quest for autonomy, which the Slovak side rejects, and that is understood even by foreign countries as a relationship that has not been settled. That is the only problem in minority policy. There are no others. On the contrary, in some areas Slovakia can serve as a model, and I would very much welcome receiving a report from the Hungarians on the situation of the Slovak minority in Hungary of the kind I handed over to Hungarian Prime Minister Horn about the situation in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Meciar Describes Economic Transformation

AU1602140996 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Feb 96 p 3

[Article by "(pf)": "V. Meciar Talks About the Slovak Model for Economic Transformation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During his official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was awarded an honorary doctorate by Braca Karic University. On this occasion, he delivered an extensive speech containing his views on the specific features of the Slovak model for economic transformation. We are publishing extracts from the recording with slight alterations of a stylistic nature.

We see that we are on the threshold of building a new type of society, a society that is entering the third millennium. This new type of society needs a transition period, and this transition period is utilized for the transformation and adaptation of society. Everyone has the right to his own path; we do not want a new dogmatism to prevail. The role of the state does not decline in this transition period, but its function does change. The state is the organizer of transformation, it determines its legislative rules, it seeks the social tolerability of the transformational changes, and it directs the entire process in a manner that ensures as few societal casualties as possible. The transformation process can be supported from the outside, but it cannot be controlled from the outside and it cannot be imposed from the outside.

The Objective—A Mixed Type of Economy

Privatization is not the end but the means of increasing the economy's efficiency. It envisages creating market entities as well as the rules for a market economy. Market freedom does not eliminate but, on the contrary, requires market regulation. The opinions of the liberals who assume that the market will solve everything and that the best regulation is no regulation encounter a great deal of problems in practical life. The gradual separation of the state sphere and the economic sphere occurs in the transition period. Privatization also intervenes in the social sphere and differentiates society. If we conduct privatization improperly, we will create a narrow group of affluent people and will turn the rest into paupers. Our aim is to respect the fact that there will be rich and poor people, but, first and foremost, to make sure that a strong middle class is created.

The Slovak path envisages creating a mixed type of economy. We envisage that state ownership will exist during this period. This involves, first and foremost, ownership of the electricity, gas, and oil pipeline networks, the privatization of which we do not envisage at present but do not rule out in the future. Similarly, we have also removed the arms plants and a small number of other strategic enterprises from privatization. Slovakia is not limiting in any way the participation of foreign capital, which may also be the 100-percent owner of enterprises. Although we respect the rules of free competition, direct sales to owners determined in advance are given preference in some cases. These owners are the employees of enterprises that establish shareholding companies; they decide among themselves what percentage management will take and what percentage the employees will get.

Support for the Domestic Entrepreneurial Class

As the enterprises are capitally underfunded and do not have the money for development, privatization is conducted in such a way that an enterprise is placed into [private] ownership but purchased in installments interest-free over a period of 10 years. Furthermore, in order to support these enterprises, we determine, on the basis of an agreement, what part of the price can be put toward internal investment. This amounts to up to 90 percent of the value of the enterprise, which confronts the new owner with the dilemma of whether to invest or pay the state. At the same time, the state is not losing but

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acquiring, the difference being that it is not acquiring immediate resources but future profits and revenue.

Of course, speculation cannot be ruled out even in these cases, and, therefore, we announced that an incompetent management cannot privatize its enterprise. Following this announcement, more than 300 enterprises that were in decline started to record a profit. A similar tendency is also being manifested in other enterprises: If you want to run a business, show us that you know how to.

A special role falls to the banks. They in fact were the ones who kicked off privatization because they have at their disposal the only free resources in the state. Whomever they agreed to give credit to could prove that he had resources. When there were dozens of applicants, they gave a paper to one of them, and only he could present himself as a partner, which was not fair. Therefore, the National Property Fund has maintained temporary influence in the banks. We have to take into consideration the fact that, after this privatization, too, the role of the banks will increase because, after privatization by the state comes to an end, credit relationships will continue. Privatization will be conducted not in accordance with who has the resources but with the criterion of competent or incompetent management. The banks will be the ones to have access to the enterprises through credits and the bankruptcy mechanism.

In Slovakia, we have said that the purchasing price is not at all decisive. Therefore, many people suspect us of doing this for political reasons. But this reason is oriented toward a historical opportunity—giving a chance to the domestic entrepreneurial class to become established. We do not think that everyone will be successful, but everyone has to have this chance. It is becoming apparent that this course of action is producing productive values. We are also proceeding from the imbalance in historical development in the West and in Central and East Europe. In the West, the owner classes have been established for decades; let us give them a chance for at least a few years. Instead of the price, we consider the contribution of investments, the expansion of the market, and the contribution of know-how to be the primary criteria.

Additional Recognition From the IMF

To ensure that the changes in society are successful, we have had to deal with the issues associated with the stabilization of the macroeconomic environment. We have to bear in mind that the Slovak currency was established only in 1993. In 1993, we were in absolute banking isolation for six months, and even at present there is less interest in Slovakia, first and foremost, for politically motivated reasons. Therefore, we oriented ourselves toward stabilizing the currency. While the state's foreign currency reserves were only $20 million in mid-1993, by the end of 1995 we had already established foreign currency reserves of $5.2 billion without gold. At the same time, we did not take credits from abroad; we drew from our internal reserves. In 1994, the IMF was able to exert effective pressure on our economic policy; in 1995 we turned down its assistance. The rating assessments for last year have improved our reputation. In determining the criteria for the debt, we started from what is better: internal debt or external debt. We proceed from the premise that internal debt has its advantages. Now the Slovak Republic has more assets than liabilities.

We have devoted a great deal of attention to market protection. The market is a major asset that cannot be given away. Therefore, we adopted measures to protect the market for domestic producers, and we said this openly, adding that we were interested in supporting the domestic producers' market.

The fact that we did not have credits from outside means that we had and have resources within. We appreciate the entry of foreign capital, but we are not absolutizing it. Hungary has 14 times more foreign investments, but it does not have an economy 14 times better—rather, the reverse. For example, last year alone, Slovakia accumulated $2.0 billion and now it can proceed actively itself on foreign markets. We do not think our path is the only possible one, but it is good for us. We are not taking the Czech, Polish, or Hungarian path. We did not make the wrong choice of coupon privatization; we rejected it and went over to other models, but, strangely enough, it is going well. Even in the IMF they are now calling us their welcome mistake.

Slovakia: Meciar: Bank Privatization Near Completion

LD1602163796 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of this week, Stefan Gavornik, president of the National Property Fund Presidium, told Slovak radio that banks should be privatized. He was responding to a statement by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who said during a roundtable discussion with the Slovak Government in the Forum Hotel [in Bratislava] that it needs to be done as soon as possible.

Stefan Gavornik has nothing against this intention, but, at the same time, he said in the interview that he does not yet know how the financial institutions should be privatized.

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This was the reason we asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar what he thinks about the idea and what ideas about privatization he would push.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] Gavornik has been away undergoing medical treatment for some time and does not know about certain new developments. Therefore, I believe that he cannot assess the matter in its entirety due to lack of information.

The privatization of banks is one of the key issues. However, it is becoming a key issue because of the interest of political parties and not because of the economy.

If we look at the banks [we can see that] the Investment and Development Bank has been almost completely privatized. The General Credit Bank and the Slovak Insurance Company [as heard] are almost halfway through [the privatization process]. The Slovak Insurance Company has not been privatized yet.

What we are talking about here is the completion of the privatization of these financial institutions. And this process should be carried out in such a way that would guarantee the deposits and the credibility and solvency of these banks. It means that leading economic entities, whose assets would guarantee the solvency of banks, should participate in the privatization process. We cannot allow the privatized banks to get into insolvent hands.

Also, the privatization must be carried out in such a way—and this is one of the economic conditions—that the entire capital share [in the privatized banks] as it is now stays on the territory of the Slovak Republic, in Slovak hands.

The third conclusion that needs to be drawn is this: We talk about how big these financial institutions are, but, if we look at the (?surrounding environment) and the services they should be providing for Central Europe or for Europe, we can see that they are only marginal financial institutions. Therefore, we need to begin to bring them together and to make two pairs of twins out of these four sisters, which, in the future, could have a bigger influence on the international capital market.

These are the fundamental policies that have been clear to all of the participants for several months now. The only thing that remains to be decided and approved is who will get how many percent. The applicants are known, all of them. It has been agreed in principle what percentage they will share between them. The only thing that remains to be done is to have it approved by the relevant bodies. When the president of the [National Property] Fund comes back—if he had been at home it could have been done in January—the process will be completed.

As for privatization on political principles, I am against it, mainly because not a single political entity has sufficient capital to guarantee the solvency and credibility of banks. And we do not want to repeat the process that was prepared in 1994 by parties who are now shouting in protest, where specific persons and specific parties had projects on who wants to have how many percent where.

I will be discreet and will not publicly mention the parties who want to privatize these financial institutions for themselves today. We are doing everything possible to ensure that ordinary people have security. And it is quite normal that those who are dissatisfied will protest. It has always been like that.

[Unidentified correspondent] Today is 15 February. You promised in the Hotel Forum [in January] that the privatization of the financial sector would be completed by this date.

[Meciar] By the end of February. And I will stick to it. [end recording]

Slovakia: 5 Aircraft To Partially Repay Russian Debt

LD1602174396 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bratislava today, Alexander Rezes, minister of transport, posts, and telecommunications, gave Sergey Yasterzhembskiy, the Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, a draft protocol between the two countries on the imports of aviation technology in partial settlement of Russia's debt to Slovakia.

After the protocol has been approved by the Russian Government and signed by the two sides, five passenger aircraft are to arrive in Slovakia.

Slovakia: Radio Free Europe Seeks Renewal of License

96CH0041A Prague TYDEN in Czech 22 Jan 96 pp 32-33

[Article by Milan Zitny: "Slovakia Says: It Is an Inflammatory License"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Slovak-language program of Radio Free Europe (RFE) received an ultimatum in the first half of January: If it does not change the tone of its "negativistic" transmissions, then the Slovak authorities will pull RFE's license. The station, which is financed by the U.S. Congress and which made a significant*

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contribution to the fall of communism, even in Slovakia, was given 30 days to effect its "improvements."

Peter Juras, chairman of the Council of the Slovak Republic responsible for radio and television broadcasting, claims that "all information coming from RFE incorporates an unequivocally built-in element of negativism." He arrived at this opinion on the basis of monitoring the 1 November and 1 December RFE broadcast weeks. Peter Juras is convinced that the editors of RFE "operate on the principle of negativism and envy." It is allegedly also "not immaterial to ask the question as to whether the Slovak transmissions by RFE are not an ideological instrument for some interest groups in the United States, aimed against the sovereignty of the Slovak people."

The contention that the program poses a threat to the independence and sovereignty of Slovakia was immediately rejected by RFE's director, Bob Gilette. The director of the Slovak section of RFE, Miroslav Neovesky, characterized the disputes regarding the license as a clash between two notions on the independence of the media. "To put it mildly, the council acted incorrectly in that we learned of their criticism from the media," adds Neovesky.

What is piquant is the fact that RFE should lose its license in Slovakia for last year's broadcasts, when it was still broadcasting in accordance with a federal license. And there were no restrictive conditions connected with that license. It was issued in 1990 by the Government of the CSFR; its validity expired on the last day of last year. As of 1 January, RFE is broadcasting in Slovakia in accordance with a new license that is only valid for one year. On the same day that RFE acquired the annual license—22 August 1995—the British BBC received a six-year license. Why?

In the Bratislava office of RFE, there are journalists who are known to be critics of Meciar's policies. They are "stupid dolts, working for Judas's coins as foreign mercenaries." The progovernment daily REPUBLIKA (today it is called SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA) published a listing of these "traitors to Slovak statehood," which was augmented by the addition of other journalists from the opposition media. The listing was worked out by Roman Hofbauer, a former member of the Meciar cabinet. In addition to Hofbauer, who is today the chairman of the parliamentary committee for privatization, the Association of Slovak Journalists is also engaging in personnel vetting. It arose from the Club for a True Image of Slovakia and, following its defection from the Professional Syndicate of Slovak Journalists, established its own organization. It is headed by Jan Smolec, editor in chief of SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, who is also a delegate in the parliament for the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] and who likes to invite people to engage in "ethical self-regulation." He personally wrote the original report from Vladimir Meciar's trip to China (1993) in which a certain Chinese entrepreneur tells of the shocking experiences from the era of the cultural revolution; unfortunately, the same passage appears in the *History of the 20th Century* by Paul Johnson.... Last year in October, Jan Smolec published a forged extract from the account that President Michal Kovac allegedly established in an Austrian bank. Another bit of bad luck: On the day the extract was allegedly issued, Austrian banks were closed.

Nevertheless, editor in chief Smolec is the holder of the Ludovit Stur Prize (it is awarded by the government upon the proposal of the Association for Slovak Journalists). The same award was also received by the publicistically very active Roman Hofbauer. As a minister, he became famous by his statement that the Czech Republic is the "alimentary tract of Europe," and as a result of an action he undertook in March 1994, when the Meciar cabinet was resigning. Immediately prior to the resignation, Hofbauer appointed a new director for Slovak telecommunications and ordered him to immediately shut down three transmitters over which RFE was broadcasting. The transmission was interrupted for six hours.

Obsessed with the notion that the Americans are working to destroy the young republic, Hofbauer wrote an extensive article for SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in August—shortly before the negotiations involving the application by RFE for a new license. The title of the article was significant: "An Inflammatory License." The article regrets that "RFE is somehow reluctant to become part of the dust heap of history."

In 1994, Dusan Slobodnik (the former minister of culture is today chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the parliament) said "everything in Slovakia would be different once we get our hands on Slovak Television and Slovak Radio." This move succeeded. Satirists (all satirical programs on Slovak Television were banned after the HZDS won in the premature elections) as well as some journalists moved from Slovak Television to the new privately operated VTV [Vase Televize—Your Television], which has a license for satellite and cable transmission. In time, however, it turned out that this was like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire: VTV belongs to the HZDS.

The clouds are also gathering over the print media. The small market is ever more controlled by advertising agencies that are connected with the HZDS. Among the largest of them are the Artmedia Agency and the Donar Agency. Here, decisions are made as to who

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will be allowed to earn money; it is not surprising that in this regard the opposition daily SME/SMENA is the daily most discriminated against. Some dailies have been bought up by large firms whose representatives are close to the government parties.

This is why Radio Free Europe must be a still greater stumbling block.

However, Miroslav Neovesky does not see the future as black in any way: "Even if we were to lose our license, RFE will not cease transmitting to Slovakia. And it will surely not be transmitting into a vacuum."

Slovakia: Kacic on Proposed Territorial Divisions

96CH0040A Bratislava NOVE SLOVO BEZ RESPEKTU in Slovak 29 Jan 96 p 3

[Unattributed interview with Pavol Kacic, state secretary of the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic; place and date not given: "The Krajs Must Be Viable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NOVE SLOVO BEZ RESPEKTU] The current coalition government has the task of solving a new territorial arrangement for Slovakia in its program. The HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] supports the model of eight krajs. However, the SNS [Slovak National Party] is more in favor of three krajs plus the city of Bratislava, and the ZRS [Agrarian and Peasant Party] would prefer to propose that the current arrangement of 38 okreses be retained. Parties outside of the government have prepared other proposals. Who is the father of the idea to divide Slovakia into eight krajs?

[Kacic] At the Ministry of the Interior and within the Council of the Government we outlined all variations that existed here for purposes of public administration; those that were not effective were eliminated and those that were positive led to the creation of additional combinations. Since the origin of an independent Slovak Republic, that is to say, since 1993, two variants were essentially preferred from the standpoint of practicality and optimum solution for the Slovak Republic. As far back as the time when Roman Kovac was in the government and dating back to my predecessor, Roman Vavrik, a model calling for seven krajs plus one or three plus one was being considered. The steps that led us to confront the problem in a more fundamental manner did not involve a definition of the number of regions that are now already called krajs, but had to do with our starting out from certain criteria in their formation. We worked out these criteria, consulted about them, and the government approved them. We are proceeding according to them. The eight-kraj model surfaced with an overwhelming majority vote. The eight-kraj model has practically been the topic of conversation since last fall. One of the criteria is also an appropriate number of people living in the territory. We took over the view as to how many people should reside in a single territorial unit at the negotiations of the OECD in Paris. As an optimum number, there should be 600,000-700,000 inhabitants in one kraj, even from the standpoint of future self-administration and the life of a territorial unit. Development requires the creation of resources that are assured by a certain mass of people. For the time being, the solution of okres-size units remains open. We have proposed two variations—68 and 80 okreses; my view is such that there will obviously be 90.

Slovakia: Metalworkers Not To Sign General Agreement

AU1902194196 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 96 p 3

[Article by Jan Dulin: "KOVO Trade Union Council Against Signing '96 General Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosice—Except for one member who abstained, the KOVO [metalworkers] Trade Union Council, meeting in Kosice yesterday, approved a critical statement on the contents of the draft General Agreement for 1996 and its planned signing. At the same time, it instructed its representative in the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ] of the Slovak Republic Assembly not to endorse the signing of the General Agreement. As Emil Machyna, chairman of the KOVO Trade Union, and vice chairmen Eugen Skultety and Robert Kulik told reporters, the metalworkers decided to adopt this attitude because of the unsatisfactory fulfillment of trade unionists' demands from the nationwide trade union protest rally in Bratislava in September. This concerns both demands for compensation for the increased [bus and railroad] fares and the failure to respect trade unionists' specific demands in the state budget. Moreover, the draft General Agreement for 1996 is more disadvantageous than last year's General Agreement, in their opinion. As was stressed by Chairman Emil Machyna, "it is better not to have a General Agreement and to negotiate further than to sign a bad agreement."

Representatives of the KOVO Trade Union expect their position to receive support in the KOZ Assembly from other trade unions, especially from production branches. The statement adopted by the KOVO Trade Union states, among other things, that "the main credit for the positive development of macroeconomic indicators goes to the citizens. The fact that the living standards of rank-and-file citizens remain on the periphery of interest of those in responsible positions can be labeled as absurd."

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The trade union of metalworkers also points out that the government deliberately keeps postponing the discussion of amendments to laws that would benefit the broadest sections of the population. "On the other hand, it promptly accommodates a narrow group of noveaux riches through an amendment to the law on the income tax, which allows them to deduct a part of the purchase price from their debt with the National Property Fund of the Slovak Republic, without even calculating the sum, of which this income tax relief will deprive the state budget," the statement by the KOVO Trade Union Council states. The trade unionists also adopted a position of principle on the level of minimum wages and the minimum wage scale. They stated that, even though "only a very narrow range of employees receive minimum wages, their level is very important for citizens because, for example, unemployment benefits or insurance premiums for persons for whom health insurance and contributions to the Employment Fund are paid by the state are derived from minimum wages."

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Hungary: U.S. Must Leave When IFOR Mandate Expires

LD1602190196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A large storm has developed in the wake of a statement by the U.S. deputy defense secretary in connection with the deployment of U.S. troops in Hungary, namely, that the Taszar NATO base may continue to operate after the expiry of the Implementation Force [IFOR] mandate. Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti called reports on the statement a misunderstanding. Journalists, however, insist that John White said literally what we quoted above. The National Assembly Defense Committee held a press briefing on the statement. Tamas Luigits reports.

[Luigits] [Defense Committee Chairman] Imre Mecs said it was not possible for the U.S. military forces to stay in Hungary after the expiry of the IFOR mandate. This would only be possible with the consent of parliament even if Hungary was a NATO member. Mecs said it is conceivable and the deputy defense secretary probably meant that an OSCE or a UN peacekeeping base would be established in the future in place of the U.S. logistics base. This, however, should also be approved by parliament. The IFOR mandate of units stationed here will only expire when the situation becomes normal in the former Yugoslavia, thus the authorization given by parliament has no deadline either.

The National Assembly, however, may withdraw its permission at any time and the IFOR troops must accept this.

Hungary: Protest Against U.S. IFOR Shooting Range

LD1602190296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Dabas local government protests in a resolution against the use of the shooting range in the nearby Taborfalva by U.S. IFOR [Implementation Force] troops.

Mayor Ferenc Nagy has said that the U.S. soldiers will have a friendly welcome, but that the locals are opposed to shooting exercises as those would disturb them.

Hungary: Horn Accepts Finance Minister's Resignation

LD1802162896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Finance Minister Lajos Bokros has resigned and his decision has been accepted by the prime minister.

In a letter addressed to Gyula Horn, Lajos Bokros asked to be relieved from his post as of 29 February because he felt that the government did not give enough support for the implementation of the reform of state finances.

At today's government session, Gyula Horn said that the permanent instability at the head of the Finance Ministry could not be maintained [reference to several resignation attempts by Bokros]; therefore, though with regret, he accepted Lajos Bokros's resignation. The prime minister stressed that he continued to support the policy on economic stabilization, thus the implementation of the reform of state finances. The government made a decision on the 1996 social insurance budget in the spirit of this support.

According to this decision, the social insurance fund budget cannot exceed 17.8 billion forints in 1996. The idea of the introduction of an extraordinary social insurance tax [Bokros' idea], an increase in the value added tax and consumption tax, and the conversion of health insurance contributions to a tax have been rejected by the government.

Gyula Horn said that today's government decision was not in connection with Lajos Bokros's resignation.

Hungary: Horn Reads Out Bokros' Resignation Letter

LD1802181696 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Finance Minister Lajos Bokros offered most recently to step down on 1 February, but according to reports, Prime Minister Gyula Horn said at the time that he will deal with the affair only if he received a statement in writing.

Gyula Horn attended the press briefing after today's government session and outlined the letter he had received from Finance Minister Lajos Bokros. You will hear the prime minister in the compilation prepared by Peter Gyuricza.

[Begin Horn recording, reading letter from Lajos Bokros] Dear Mr. Prime Minister: I ask you to relieve me from the position of finance minister effective 29 February 1996.

The reason for my request is that, owing to lack of government support and confidence in me, I do not believe that it is possible to successfully implement the reform of state finances.

I thank you for the assistance given to me in realizing the stabilization measures introduced with the aim of easing the country's economic crisis.

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Respectfully, Lajos Bokros, today's date. [end recording]

[Gyuricza] The finance minister and the government had been sharply criticized on several occasions. At such times, Gyula Horn had always assured Lajos Bokros of his confidence. This, for example, was the case on the eve of the Hungarian Socialist Party's congress in November 1995. The reply was different, however, this time.

[Begin Horn recording] After all this, I cannot accept a situation in which there is constant uncertainty in the leadership of the Finance Ministry. For this reason, I can do nothing other than to accept, with regret, the resignation of the finance minister effective 29 February. [end recording]

[Gyuricza] Gyula Horn announced that he had informed the ministers from the Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats about Bokros's decision, and they had described the finance minister's announcement as unexpected and baffling. The prime minister had also notified the members of the Coalition Coordinating Council and Gyorgy Suranyi, chairman of the National Bank of Hungary, who attended today's government session.

In spite of the resignation, the government will continue along the path it had begun, Gyula Horn said.

[Begin Horn recording] As has been the case to date, the government in the future will firmly support the policy of economic stabilization and the consistent implementation and completion of the reform of state finances. The government will consistently adhere to the implementation of the provisions of the Law on the 1996 Budget, and what it practices, what it decides, will constitute a guarantee for the fulfillment of the provisions of the Budget Law. [end recording]

[Gyuricza] On the question of succession, Prime Minister Gyula Horn said the following:

[Begin Horn recording] I will propose a new finance minister on the basis of careful consideration and coordination. [end recording]

Hungary: Horn on Finance Minister's Resignation

LD1802231596 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 96

[Studio interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified television correspondent; from the "The Week" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] A few hours after the resignation of [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros could you explain how it happened and the circumstances surrounding his resignation?

[Horn] The resignation was unexpected for me, too. We had ended a government session; after it ended the finance minister handed over an envelope containing his resignation. Today's government session...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Were there (?arguments) between you or certain ministers and the finance minister during the government session?

[Horn] There are always arguments at government sessions. Decisions are made amid arguments. It is obvious that everyone's position must be listened to, and decisions must be made.

This was unexpected for me because on 1 February, when the finance minister most recently announced his intention to resign, we sat down together and reached agreement on practically everything—including the acceptance of his proposals and, in light of these, his plans for further changes in the work of the economic cabinet, and for working out what confidence measures he required, which I naturally gave him over and over again.

[Correspondent] So you agreed on this on 1 February...

[Horn, interrupting] We came to an agreement and the finance minister regarded his intention to resign as null and void. After this, on Friday [16 February], I convened a small group to discuss the conversion of social insurance contributions into tax, so that the government would be in a position enabling it to make a decision rather than being burdened with arguments.

At that time we agreed that the government could not accept a proposal that contained several points that were unconstitutional. It could not accept a proposal that had not been discussed by organizations representing occupational and union interests—that is, by the Interest Coordination Council—and in connection with this we took the position that there was a possibility of converting social insurance into tax, but it should not be introduced part-way through the year. It should be introduced on 1 January 1997. We worked this out together.

[Correspondent] [Passage indistinct] Lajos Bokros?

[Horn] I felt that we parted company with a sense of satisfaction, agreement.

Moreover, in connection with the reform of state finances, the finance minister and I committed ourselves to not making related decisions in the manner applied on 12 March last year. Rather, there was a suitable pace at which this should be done—and this did not mean

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deferral, but careful consideration, the coordination of interests, and consideration of all sorts of other aspects.

[Correspondent] When Lajos Bokros says in his letter that he did not receive enough support from the government, who can we think of, in your view? Can we think of disputes between Lajos Bokros and other ministers? For—this time last week—the public learned about his dispute with Tamas Suchman, minister in charge of privatization affairs.

[Horn] Yes, he has had disputes, but in the light of the hard decisions the government has to make, there is nothing extraordinary even in this case. These decisions have to meet not only domestic, but international expectations as well. There is a need for a lot of consideration, and in certain cases there is a need for some corrections as well.

However, I think that this is natural. Every government member has the right to express his/her own opinion, for every government member bears responsibility for the entire work and performance of the government. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It was said at the government spokesman's briefing today, that the rejection of the introduction of various taxes was not in connection with the minister's resignation, although it was precisely the finance minister who urged the introduction of these taxes. Is there really no link between these two things?

[Horn] I do not see any particular link here, for at today's government session we put together those elements that are to cover the deficit of the social insurance budget so that we can adhere to our original plan. He, as well as Gyorgy Suranyi, Central Bank chairman, also participated in this debate. We will make a decision on the finalization of the individual items by noon tomorrow in order to present it to the parliamentary group and to submit the necessary modification proposals to parliament.

[Correspondent] You were forced to apologize for the situation that larger advance payments were deducted from salaries. At that time, certain experts called attention to certain shortcomings in the Finance Ministry's preparatory work. The Hungarian Socialist Party's parliamentary group was left alone to vote on this proposal. On the basis of this, what is your opinion about the Finance Ministry's professional preparatory work?

[Horn] Well, there are plenty of shortcomings in that as well. Not only the finance minister, but every minister is in a very difficult situation. It is widely known what has taken place in the state administration, in the apparatus of the ministries. These people are under extreme pressure.

Let me say something in connection with this apology. I did not dramatize this, so to speak. The fact that I was forced to apologize has not reduced my prestige. I also have to tell you honestly that I did not intend this to be a kind of gesture, but a human step. If a government makes an ill-considered step, then it is my primary duty as the head of the government to apologize for this to those who are affected. This is a human requirement. But this has not led to any kind of tension between me and the finance minister, since those who work make mistakes as well.

[Correspondent] At the end of last year it seemed that both coalition parties supported Lajos Bokros. Let us just remember at the Hungarian Socialist Party's congress held in Miskolc, where T-shirts with the words: I love Lajos, were distributed and the finance minister achieved a rather lot of success. The Alliance of Free Democrats also seemed to agree with this restrictive economic policy.

What has changed here over the past three months, in your view?

[Horn] I would like to stress the following. The stabilization program we started last year and continued this year, the state finances' reform that is under preparation and which is to come to a decisive phase this year is not linked to the name of one, two, or three people. It is the government coalition that decided these steps and this program. Each government member bears the same responsibility for this program. I know how great the sacrifices it implies. There is no question of having any kind of change or break in this process. We have to complete what we have decided.

At the same time, in view of the fact that these are very hard steps, I strongly stated that the matter in question is not only the mere continuation of the stabilization program, but also the point that further burdens, which affect wide social strata, cannot be formulated and introduced in a random way. This is where there have been and are disputes, but I would like to stress that no substantial changes or break can be expected in the government policy following the finance minister's departure.

[Correspondent] Do you believe Lajos Bokros had less of a personal role in this stabilization process than people abroad think?

[Horn] Look, it is not a question of that. I have very often supported Lajos Bokros, even on occasions when I knew it would not be popular with the people—when he was attacked in or out of parliament. I backed him. However, I should like to emphasize that this team—meaning not just the government, but the government

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coalition, and the two parliamentary groups, of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats—these people, together with us, bear the burdens of this economic and financial policy in the same way.

Allow me to add something else: They also face very tough criticism from society, from the political forces, and from everyone else. Therefore, we must not link this to one person. One person's plans will be doomed to failure without government support, and especially without government and coalition work. Therefore, it is linked not to one person, but to the current government coalition and government.

[Correspondent] Remaining on the subject of the assessment abroad of Hungary's economy, it was precisely the IMF that urged a reduction in the social insurance deficit. And a condition of membership in the OECD [Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development], the club grouping the most developed countries, is a reduction in the state finance deficit.

Lajos Bokros was—and is—highly respected in international financial circles. For example, he was very successful last weekend at the conference Hungary 2000, amid successful Hungarian businessmen abroad. He has been respected for his financial policy. Of course, his reputation at home is another question.

Following the finance minister's resignation, how will Hungary's bid for OECD membership shape up, and what will happen concerning its agreement with the IMF?

[Horn] I should like to correct you: The policy of the entire government was praised at this conference Hungary 2000, and the participants assured us of their support. This is one very important thing.

The other: At today's press briefing I pointed out that the government was fulfilling—and will fulfill—all of the written undertakings vis-a-vis the IMF, and it will fulfill what Lajos Bokros said on behalf of the government at the session of the OECD Committee in Paris.

Indeed, alongside today's statement, and by way of confirming it, I will write to the leadership of both organizations tomorrow, since Lajos Bokros represented the government vis-a-vis the IMF and the OECD—I intend to confirm in writing tomorrow that the government will fulfill its undertakings.

Allow me to add something else: What is at issue here is not only whether we meet international expectations. That is only one consideration. If we were not convinced that we must consistently implement this policy and that we must do so more cleverly than previously, then we—the parliamentary group, the coalition, and the government—will not undertake this commitment.

So, international expectations are in accordance with our ideas and especially—and this is what is most important—the country's interests. The decisive thing is for us to sort out our affairs, so that Hungary can join the community of developed countries, and this is the firm intention of government.

We will assure our international partners of this.

[Correspondent] So you believe you will be able to convince the international financial circles and the Western governments that this departure will not constitute a change in Hungary's economic policy?

[Horn] Do not take this as being immodest, but I have to say that having visited nearly every member country of the EU, and having met U.S. leaders—I recently met President Clinton for the third time—appreciation was expressed everywhere toward the Hungarian Government. So, the Hungarian Government has a reputation in which Lajos Bokros has a role.

I do not think there are any doubts about the government's commitment, all the less so since we have said, and this figures among our goals, that Hungary's most important aim—in the government's words—is to join the community of most developed countries, first and foremost membership in the EU. And there, whatever anyone says, if it is not matched by performance then everything remains words. What is at issue is not words, only, but the government's undertakings in the past and the future.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, according to the most recent reports, inflation was at 4.4 percent [as heard] at the end of January. If we consider this changeover, and the fact that such events, involving disruption, are not favorable from the viewpoint of the Finance Ministry and financial policy, what do you think—will it be possible to achieve inflation of 20-21 percent at the end of the year?

[Horn] I very much hope that it will be possible and it is not just an issue of hopes and promises, but it depends on concrete measures, too. We will continue the official price rises, which the government undertook. I very much trust that there will not be very sudden needs or expenditures. I very much trust that there will be no major item that will boost inflation.

That is why we were able, in the second half of 1995, to constantly reduce the rate of inflation in comparison with the previous period, and we were able to keep to the rate planned for the entire year—although I myself am not pleased either that inflation is still relatively high.

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[Correspondent] Prime Minister, according to our information, you have—obviously—been thinking about succession in the finance minister's post. We have already heard names.

[Horn] I have to admit that it surprises me, for I have not mentioned names to anybody. It is natural, that since 1430, I have been thinking about possible successors, but it obviously needs thorough consideration and coordination.

[Correspondent] Do you have any proposals, or are you thinking of somebody?

[Horn] I am thinking—as probably you are also thinking of various things, too. Naturally, I do not intend to spend the interim few weeks idle, regarding the person of the future finance minister. I am considering this question and in a relatively short period...

[Correspondent, interrupting] What kind of person would you like at the head of the Finance Ministry?

[Horn] Primarily, I would like to choose a person who is committed to the country's financial stability and the reform of the state finances, a person who systematically implements government decisions and is able to work in a team together with his minister colleagues, and who is tied to our common work in the most difficult situation, too.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, thank you for accepting our invitation.

[Horn] I also say thanks to you.

Hungary: Politicians React to Bokros Resignation

LD1802212196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The coalition partner [the Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] and politicians of two opposition parties have commented on the resignation of Finance Minister Lajos Bokros. A roundup by Laszlo Gardai and Peter Szoerenyi follows:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Tamas Bauer is an executive of the SZDSZ. Could Lajos Bokros's resignation mean that reform will come to a halt, a standstill?

[Bauer] Naturally, it may but it does not have to mean that. Unfortunately, Bokros resigned at a time when his economic policy has brought about significant results. If his succession is sorted out in a reassuring way, then his resignation will not imply the changing of economic policy, which I very much hope.

[Correspondent] Are you concerned about the possibility of the appointment of a successor whose policy would not be acceptable to the SZDSZ?

[Bauer] I very much hope that it will not happen, because it is obvious that the government's present policy can only be continued if the finance minister is accepted—both at home and abroad—as an economist and as an economic politician who is committed to the continuation of the economic policy pursued so far.

[Correspondent] Gyorgy Gemesi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum: Have you been surprised about Lajos Bokros's resignation.

[Gemesi] I would only have been surprised if he stayed for much longer, because I think that it could have been timed at a much earlier date. Bokros' resignation could be expected to happen sooner or later.

[Correspondent] What do you think about this step?

[Gemesi] I think that this may give hope for a better financial policy in future, but even in connection with this, my hopes are accompanied by my doubts. In any case, there is an opportunity for a more thoroughly considered and more socially sensitive financial policy. If the planned price rises are introduced, there is a serious danger of the collapse of not only various sectors, but of the entire budget too.

[Correspondent] Mihaly Varga, parliamentary deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party: Have you been surprised about the news or did you expect it?

[Varga] I was only surprised by one thing, that on this occasion the prime minister did accept the finance minister's resignation. In my view, the prime minister himself thought that certain parts of the economic policy have to be amended, and this is why he accepted the finance minister's resignation.

[Correspondent] Can reform of state finances be halted? Bokros referred to the possibility of this, saying that he did not feel he had enough support for the completion of the reform.

[Varga] I think this cannot be linked to the name of one person. In my view, several government members must have realized that the sheep has to be sheared rather than skinned. Therefore, reform of state finances might have a new phase, which brings about significant changes but does not sharpen social conflicts. [end recording]

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Hungary: Opposition on Horn's Plan To Continue Reforms

LD1902184596 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Andras Domany reports from the parliament about a preagenda debate on Finance Minister Lajos Bokros's resignation.

[Domany] The government is to continue its economic policy with undiminished energy, Prime Minister Gyula Horn said.

The problem lies exactly in this, deputies speaking on behalf of all of the four opposition parties said. They stressed that they considered Lajos Bokros's policy and ideas inhuman. Although with variable emphasis, they stressed that this policy had increased the rate of inflation, ruined the health service, education, and culture, and put families with children and entrepreneurs in an impossible situation, etc.

Several opposition deputies also drew attention to the fact that all this was not only the resigned finance minister's personal responsibility, for everything happens on behalf of the government; therefore, the government itself has to be held responsible for all this.

This coalition is unsuitable for government, Jozsef Szajer, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party said. Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party, called on the prime minister as well to resign and hoped that the government dare not continue its policy.

However, Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, said that this policy, despite all its problems, could be considered successful, for it increased the country's reputation and we were recovering from the crisis.

Hungary: National Bank Chairman on Bokros Resignation

LD1802200996 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Gyorgy Suranyi, chairman of the National Bank of Hungary, hopes that there will be no turnabout in the economic policy after the resignation of Finance Minister Lajos Bokros.

[Begin Suranyi recording] Whatever happened at the government session today, it will not affect our personal friendship. I hope very much that the economic policy, which reestablished and confirmed Hungary's international credibility and which has been received with large-scale international support, will continue in the future, too; and as a result of this, the process in which we have managed to come to agreements with international financial organizations, and which led Hungary to the gates of the OECD will not be endangered. [end recording]

Hungary: Finance Minister Explains Resignation

LD1902222396 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Feb 96

[Interview with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros by unidentified correspondent on 19 February; place not given—recorded; first two paragraphs read by announcer]

[FBIS Translate Excerpt] Prime Minister Gyula Horn did not want to maintain instability at the head of the Finance Ministry, while Finance Minister Lajos Bokros did not want to accept insecurity in the uncertain financial matters of the social insurance funds.

One day after the government session, it emerged that Bokros resigned because he considers as irresponsible and lavish the way social insurance leaders manage the high contributions, which are uniquely high in the whole world. Bokros thinks there is a 30 billion forint [Ft] shortage in the social insurance budget and he did not receive appropriate support for covering this missing sum, for these methods were found unconstitutional by government members. A lot of people have already commented on Bokros' resignation. Now the finance minister himself explains the reasons for his resignation.

[Bokros] I wanted to give an opportunity to those who sit on the other side to give their own opinion on the matter. In these circumstances I can only comment on what really happened at the government session, and this is nothing more than the fact that, unfortunately, none of my proposals were accepted, and, after all, no decision was made about the budget of the social insurance funds.

[Unidentified correspondent] You are saying that no decision was made, but Gyula Horn said on Hungarian television and today in parliament too that the government made important decisions; in fact, it has made the decision, demanded by you as well, that the government would continue the economic policy planned and launched by you.

[Bokros] It is a fact that the government has indeed confirmed that the social insurance deficit cannot exceed Ft17.8 billion, but the decision on possible measures taken by the government covers only Ft5 billion. That is to say, I do not see the content of the rest of the cover for expenditures.

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[Correspondent] That is to say, you do not know how the government will find this Ft30 billion. What did the government decide at its 18 February session?

[Bokros] The government rejected, one after the other, the numerous variants prepared by the Finance Ministry. We cannot make any better proposals. Now it is the turn of those who so far could only say that our proposals are not good enough.

[Correspondent] Is it true that you and the head of the Social Insurance Self-Administration Body had a quarrel at the government session?

[Bokros] It is entirely true, for I think that Laszlo Sandor's attack on me in his speech on 16 February was extremely unfair and immoral. He called on the prime minister to put things in order in his government and should not leave me to provoke him or Horn. My view is that Laszlo Sandor should have said thank you for the fact that, instead of the Social Insurance Self-Administration Body, the Finance Ministry took the trouble to try to adjust the social insurance funds' budgets to meet the target deficit, for there were no plans on a reduction of expenditure.

Formally, the social insurance self-administration bodies met these requirements when they prepared a budget, which was submitted to parliament in December 1995. However, based on statements made by them since then, it is known that they themselves did not consider that budget to be a realistic one. [passage omitted]

The government, without any authorization, is now trying to turn this budget into an acceptable one. I think that after all this, it is deeply immoral to say that the government is intervening in the autonomy of the self-administration bodies. It is a very comfortable position to reject—in a kind of popular pose—every proposal on an increase of social insurance revenue.

[Correspondent] What is the consequence of this fact, that the social insurance budget is unrealistic, will be unrealistic, that is, Ft30 billion are missing. Will there be no financing for hospitals?

[Bokros] No, this will not be the consequence, since the situation in Hungary is such that the social insurance funds are able to finance themselves without limits and automatically from the central budget. This also means that they have no interest in collecting their revenues, they are not motivated to carry out the unpopular revenue-increasing measures within their own scope of authority.

[Correspondent] Are you saying that they are wasting money?

[Bokros] I am saying that they are wasting money and that they manage their money irresponsibly.

[Correspondent] Is this why you wanted to appoint a commissioner to head the social insurance? They say this would not really have been legal.

[Bokros] It would have been legal if we consider that the government commissioner would have supervised the use of the sums covering the losses of the social insurance funds, since one cannot say that the central budget should just carry on financing the social insurance without limits, but should not interfere in how the social insurance uses the central budget's money. In my view, this would have been a completely natural and desirable first step in the transition period which would have led to our rethinking, within the scope of the health insurance reform, of whether there is a need for this self-administration, because in my view there is not.

[Correspondent] Did you already know that you would resign when the prime minister stated that he was not in favor of any kind of extra social insurance tax?

[Bokros] I did not know, I was not even in the country when the prime minister made this statement. The issue is that it is likely that the prime minister was misinformed about the proposals we were preparing in the Finance Ministry. The so-called dual alternative, which was eventually rejected, did not contain a tax increase. Instead it was meant to replace the current social insurance contribution with a type of tax that would have meant lower burdens for those who pay the social insurance premium properly today, since, similarly to the personal employee contribution, the employers' contribution would also have had a Ft75,000-monthly ceiling, after which the employers would have been burdened not with a 42.5 percent key but only a 30 percent key. On the other hand, the proposal contained a widening of the contribution base, so the base of this tax would have been exactly the same as the base of personal income tax.

[Correspondent] The prime minister also said that you actively participated in the government session right to the end, and the fact that you wrote on a piece of scrap paper that you were resigning, that you were not prepared to continue participating in the government as finance minister, came as a surprise to everyone. Why was the fact that you did not want to continue not apparent to the ministers at the government session?

[Bokros] The reason probably is that when I wrote my resignation—by the way, it was not on a piece of scrap paper but on a clean sheet of A4 paper—I did indeed do it quietly during the government session, and I handed the envelope to the prime minister at the very end. This

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way I did not give a chance for a debate to take place and for others to talk me into changing my decision.

[Correspondent] This is interesting, because you have had more serious conflicts in the past.

[Bokros] The issue is that my proposals were not accepted. This has so far not happened to such an extent. However, if I feel that the proposals are extremely important for the future of the state finance reform, then I have to draw the necessary conclusions.

[Correspondent] Could not Gyula Horn have felt that he had reached a point when it was not he but you who was leading the government? That is to say, he perhaps wanted to avoid a Bokros diktat.

[Bokros] That probably has to be asked of the prime minister. However, a lot of people think that this resignation letter was not bad news for him either.

[Correspondent] Why?

[Bokros] Simply because he did not want to face those political conflicts which would probably have emerged as a result of a reform of state finances, as prepared in accordance with my criteria.

[Correspondent] There are people—economists—who are saying that the basic principles of the Bokros package and economic policy have already softened. And there are those who are saying that certain restrictive measures should be stopped, for it is impossible to live on Ft10,000-13,000 today. This has been said by competent politicians and economists. What is your opinion about this?

[Bokros] It is a matter of who you consider to be a competent economist. I think that, on the one hand, this stabilization program has not been softened yet. The turning point would precisely be that now we are not talking about a simple continuation of the stabilization program, but the start of a reform of state finances, without which the stabilization itself would be put in danger.

Without reform the present operation of the budget-financed institutions would reproduce the situation of overspending—let us take the example of social insurance—as a result of which further restrictive measures would have to be taken in the interest of stabilization. At the same time, it is obvious that equilibrium cannot be handled by levying further and further taxes on people.

Sooner or later the time must come when we will have a close look at budget expenditures and examine how the budget-financed institutions—local government, social insurance, and central budget institutions—fulfill the task given them by law. Under the present circumstances, I think this turning point has come, and I assume that this enormous task needs even more effort than hitherto made.

[Correspondent] What do you think, does the fact that the social insurance fund is unable to find the Ft30 billion mentioned by you have a kind of general message to the effect that the state finances reform has stopped or seems to be coming to a halt?

[Bokros] Let us be specific: the state finances reform has not even started yet, and since it has not started, it cannot be halted either. The main question here is whether it will start or not. [passage omitted] We are sitting on a lot of time bombs. If we do not defuse them, the need for restrictive stabilization measures may become repeatedly necessary. I would like, or would have liked, to defuse these bombs. It seems that in certain political circles this has led at last to as much fear as the stabilization program itself.

[Correspondent] As you say, the macroeconomic processes are favorable. However, if we look into the microsphere, where they say it is difficult to decide whether half or a third of the country is poor, it is interesting to know how much responsibility the finance minister has, what steps the government has to take. In your view, when and how can poverty be stopped in the near future? Can a restrictive economic policy result in halting the poverty process?

[Bokros] Naturally, restrictive economic policy cannot result in this. However, last year we did not only pursue a restrictive economic policy, but we endeavored to combine a savings-oriented economic policy with a pro-growth, export oriented economic policy. Without this, exports would not have increased by almost 22 percent in dollar terms, and the economy would not have grown by 2.5 percent. I believe that last year's policies cannot be called exclusively restrictive.

This contains the future solution. The solution will be that, if within this economic-political mix the growth-enhancing elements become even more prominent, with the preservation of balance, the country will be capable of ever increasing economic growth. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The international press today takes a stand on your side; the papers say they are sorry you are leaving. International agreements are ahead, you wanted to sign agreements with international institutions. In your view, can this process come to a halt?

[Bokros] I wish to assure everyone that I also regret this, since I have invested a lot of work, and my family and I have made too many sacrifices. At the same time, I cannot see why another finance minister could not continue the same economic policy. The economic

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situation is excellent. We have moved from the edge of financial bankruptcy to convertibility within a year. This is built on such a great extent of internal capital accumulation and gaining trust, which makes it possible for us to measure up the state finance reform measures which have to be taken for the sake of our long-term success.

I believe there is no reason for panic. Ministers come and go, this is normal in a democracy. I hope that my successor will stick to the economic policy which will eventually ensure that these international agreements are signed on time.

Hungary: Polish President Discusses Meeting With Horn

LD1702125996 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Polish president [Aleksander Kwasniewski], Hungary and Poland are partners in [their efforts for] entry to both NATO and the European Union [EU]. Andras Domany reports:

[Domany] President Kwasniewski jokingly described his one-on-one talks with Prime Minister Horn last night, which lasted for more than two hours, as chatting about old acquaintances. By the way, the meeting took place without interpreters in the Russian language.

They exchanged views on economic issues such as the reform of social insurance, which puts both countries under pressure, their foreign tours, including Gyula Horn's visit to the pope, and the issue of national minorities, in which the Polish president expressed firm support for the observance of international agreements.

Evaluating his country's situation, he told the press that the crisis has been resolved, the new government has received a vote of confidence, and, according to recent news, the miners' strike has also ended.

The case of former prime minister Jozef Oleksy, who was accused of spying, is being properly dealt with by an independent court. Several journalists tried to get a more detailed answer from the president regarding his talks with the Hungarian prime minister on this delicate issue, but he did not wish to give details saying he was not entitled to comment. It is a fact that we mentioned it, he said, Mr. Horn has a clear view on the matter and it is close to mine. Political dividedness first and foremost derives from the prejudices and self interests of some of the elite, he said. The people, indeed, give firm support to his idea of a common Poland, to which he sticks. He invites every social force for dialogue. National consensus is necessary in issues of security and foreign policy, for instance.

There was, of course, mention of the European institutions. Aleksander Kwasniewski stressed that, in his view, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic could enter the EU at the same time, Slovakia perhaps later, due to its internal political situation. We should not seek separate ways in our NATO accession, either, because Russia opposes any kind of expansion; thus, we have to reassure it together, and for the Western military alliance, expansion is really important only together with the large and militarily strong Poland.

In other words, we are not rivals, we are progressing toward the EU and NATO through cooperation and coordination. Our goals and interests are the same, he said, repeating yesterday's key sentence [from his talks with President Goncz].

Hungary: Kuncze Assesses Coalition Prospects

AU2002114096 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Feb 96 p 8

[Interview with Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze, deputy coalition prime minister, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Politics Cannot Break in Half"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] The previous practice of coalition coordination has changed; the Coalition Coordination Council stopped its activity. You had, and still have, opportunities to deal directly with the prime minister on coalition matters. Will this practice change?

[Kuncze] The aforementioned Coalition Coordination Council has not ceased to exist but, contrary to the weekly meetings, it will now convene when we have to face conflicts. Naturally, it will convene in the future if necessary. I frequently discuss various matters with the prime minister. These talks are partly private talks and partly take place at the cabinet meetings preceding the government meeting. This practice has proved itself so there is no need to make any changes. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Has the concern of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] dissipated, a concern according to which the SZDSZ might disappear in the joint government with the socialists?

[Kuncze] This concern would be justified if the SZDSZ constantly gave up its previous positions and, thus, lost its character. However, the coalition so far has convinced almost everyone that there is no such danger. The public can clearly delimit the SZDSZ and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Is there any difference between the coalition parties on the way they view the current financial policy and the finance minister?

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[Kuncze] There is no such difference. The SZDSZ counted on conflicts from the outset, because it has been saying more firmly than any other party for a long time that the existing distribution systems must be changed. We are certain that only this can lead us out of the present crisis. The MSZP only reached this conclusion months after winning the elections. They already see that the measures are inevitable, but they find it hard to accept the consequences of unpopular measures. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Is there a state of war between the SZDSZ and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]?

[Kuncze] Although the FIDESZ chairman and several other FIDESZ leaders have been strongly attacking the SZDSZ by claiming certain offenses, the SZDSZ will not conduct the fight at such a level. FIDESZ Chairman Viktor Orban took this struggle to an area where we will never fight.

[Pinter] What is your opinion about the fact that, actually, the creation of a center-right and a center-left and obtaining positions are at stake here?

[Kuncze] I see the SZDSZ in the center, and not on the left. The SZDSZ agreed to participate in the present coalition, but this primarily shows its sense of responsibility, rather than its commitment to the left. In principle, I never excluded the possibility of having contact points in the direction of a healthy center right, if such a trend exists or will emerge in Hungary. At the same time, I strongly oppose any attempt to break politics in the middle. This could lead to a firm split in the country as well. It might happen that, after the next elections scheduled for 1998, parties that have not shown readiness to cooperate will have to govern together. [passage omitted]

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B-H: FM Prlic Interviewed on Implementation, Policies

LD1702233596 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 17 Feb 96

[Studio interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic by correspondent Mirza Huskic in Sarajevo on 16 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Huskic] Our guest this evening is Bosnian Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic. We have a special reason for this interview. The mini-summit is taking place in Rome tomorrow, a tripartite meeting between Presidents Izetbegovic, Franjo Tudjman, and Slobodan Milosevic.

Mr. Minister, you will be in Bosnia-Herzegovina's delegation. Can you roughly predict — by the time we broadcast this interview some things will have already been revealed — the outcome of the meeting in Rome.

[Prlic] The basic concept and idea behind this meeting is to organize meetings from time to time of those who signed the Dayton Agreement and the agreement in Paris on 14 December last year, and to review what has been done in the previous period. That is one purpose of this meeting.

The second, much more important purpose is to insist on the consistent implementation of what has been agreed, and to give an opportunity to the creators of the peace process — the American mediators and the Contact Group countries — to say once again that the Dayton agreement must be implemented to the letter, including all the deadlines for certain actions. In that view, I expect that all three presidents will come under certain — mild, or not so mild — pressure in order to ensure that everything that has been agreed will be implemented.

[Huskic] We can certainly mention in this context the one-day official visit by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic. You had a meeting with him.

[Prlic] Yes, that was our second meeting in five days. In the first part of the meeting we noted the similarity of our opinions on some important issues that stem from bilateral relations.

As was announced earlier, we will have a meeting in Ploce on 26 February, at the level of the prime ministers of the two governments — the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina — and the government of the Republic of Croatia. I expect that we will sign five interstate agreements on that occasion, and that we will come closer to a possible solution for the use of the port of Ploce. The Croatian side promised to submit its proposal by Tuesday next week, so that our government's [word indistinct] working group has an opportunity to form a stance on it, and we will present our stance to Croatian representatives at the meeting in Ploce on Monday [19 February]. I also expect that we will sign a protocol on easing relations, or in other words, on abolishing transit visas for the Republic of Croatia for the citizens of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, about which — as you know — a political decision has already been made.

[Huskic] The issue of Mostar is still a problem, the same as the issue of Sarajevo. That is certainly what will be discussed at the Rome talks.

[Prlic] That is true. There are two big issues lying on the path of implementing the Croat-Bosniak Federation — that is the issue of Mostar and the issue of internal borders, i.e. cantonal borders, because it is well known that the territory of the Federation is not the same as it was after the Washington agreement and the Dayton agreement.

More or less everything has been agreed regarding cantonal borders, apart from the southern part — where and how should four western Herzegovina municipalities be put. The rest is more or less known — the Posavina grand-county remains as it is, Gorazde too, Sarajevo is envisaged by the Constitution of the Federation to be a district — it will function generally as a canton — but the internal structure of Sarajevo — the organization of authorities — has not yet been agreed upon. The four western Herzegovina municipalities are an outstanding issue. It should be noted that the Bihac canton, i.e. grand-county, is being enlarged, and that a new grand-county of Livno, Tomislavgrad, Kupres, Glamoc, Bosansko Grahovo, and Drvar should be set up.

In this respect a solution ought to be reached; another important issue is Mostar that is, objectively speaking, slowing down the whole process. As you know, the Croat side in Mostar did not agree with the solution and the arbitration offered by Administrator Koschnick, and in this connection our diplomacy tried to mediate to reach a solution enabling the continuation of the process. If there is no solution for Mostar all actions in connection with the setting up of the Federation will be slowed down, and there is no peace process without the Federation.

The stakes are extremely high, and in this respect it is necessary to find a compromise with which both sides in Mostar will be satisfied, but also the third side — the European Union — a solution that will save the face and authority of the European Union and a solution that is possible to implement in the given political and other circumstances in Mostar.

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One should not turn a blind eye to certain things. Things ought to be viewed as they really are, because over the past three to four years the world has not been as it really is, but as perceived by the people. That level of perception of certain events generally determines actions and reactions to certain developments. In this respect one ought to display tactfulness, understanding. I believe there is readiness to overcome certain difficulties, differences in views, and that the process in Mostar should really follow the direction as agreed upon, it should proceed in the direction of being an undivided town as agreed in the memorandum, while areas of municipalities should be agreed in accordance with the Dayton Agreement.

[Huskic] It is now eight full days since the Serb entity has suspended relations with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. It is one of the issues to be discussed in Rome. According to the Dayton agreement, the Republic central government is to include in the foreseeable future ministers from the Serb entity. How do you, as the foreign minister, see this problem? In other words, will the implementation of the peace agreement take the agreed course with the already existing difficulties?

[Prlic] It must take the agreed course, in spite of what someone at the local or some other higher level thinks. Relations will be established between authorized representatives of the Federation, in the measure the Federation will exist as a state and legal mechanism, and the Serb entity. You know that this is a transitional stage until the elections. The two governments have been divided. The Federation government has been formed. It is fully within the Federation Constitution, and the Government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic has been set up. Its competences are only the ones set out in the Constitution of the future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As you know, the future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not have any attributes in front of its name, as Canada and some forty countries of the world have. It will be called simply Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So, in the state, legal, and constitutional respect we do meet the requirements of the Dayton agreement, and in the measure in which the Serb entity will implement the overall process, a joint government will be formed on the level of the central state.

As far as I am concerned, as well as the majority of those presently engaged in the central authority institutions, we are ready for all forms of cooperation. Depending on political decisions, we shall undertake and implement these forms of cooperation on the appropriate state level.

[Huskic] I have asked you this for the following reason: The moment the representatives of the Serb entity really start cooperating in the establishment of the new Bosnia-Herzegovina state with all its attributes and the administrative system established by the agreement, the realization of the crucial part of the agreement begins. It is the economic reconstruction. As you are an economics expert, I would like to ask you about the donors conference in Brussels. You have attended the first one, when the three-month aid was discussed.

[Prlic] There are slight difficulties. There are different forms of aid. It is not a question of grants, of gifts being given to Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is a question of different forms of aid.

[Huskic] When representatives of the Serb entity recognize the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina as designed in Dayton, will they only then have the right to come to Brussels with their problems, to compete with the Federation?

[Prlic] Their programs are already included in the [words indistinct] of the overall reconstruction program. The World Bank and the IMF said their programs encompassed the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is not a secret.

We are currently on an important diplomatic offensive in an attempt to secure necessary means for three to four years to the approximate value of $5.1 billion, of which around $2 billion, will be obtained in a multilateral form. We are having enormous difficulties with securing these funds. This figure has been released but it is insufficient. It is only for the necessary initial needs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it will be very difficult to secure.

You have probably seen results of our diplomatic offensive, which I have just mentioned. This week we had a Japanese delegation here which lent its support in this respect. It has been noticed that a number of EU countries have changed their policy. They are now ready to take part in a conference and make their contribution, both as EU members and in bilateral contacts, as separate countries. There have been certain difficulties with ensuring participation of the United States because of the well-known situation in connection with the U.S. budget.

We shall go next week .... [pauses] I will most probably go in the middle of the month to try to speak with the most responsible people in the U.S. Congress and Government, particularly the State Department, in an attempt to influence the reaching of a solution to this problem in the most favorable way.

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With the inclusion of the United States, and once it has fulfilled its obligations, the door will be open for the inclusion of Japan, which will most probably follow the United States with regard to the size of the overall aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The European Union will give its share; currently there are difficulties in the assessment of what its share in the overall aid should be. Then there are Islamic states — next month we are planning to hold a special meeting of those countries and another group of countries to present our plans. Before the pledging conference, which should take place in Brussels on 12 and 13 April, we would like to get their consent in order to round-off, as we frequently say, the overall construction of financing. In this respect we are facing extremely big tasks in the next few months.

[Huskic] There have been many visits lately by trade delegations from Slovenia, Italy, Germany, the Czech Republic, Japan, and so on. It is interesting to observe the increasingly active role of Italy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, starting with its troops within IFOR, and going on to various proposals concerning economic and bilateral cooperation.

[Prlic] Yes, Italy plays an increasingly important role, above all — I'd say — because Italy has realized the importance of maintaining good relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

[Huskic] When you became foreign minister you announced the modernization of the ministry and certain changes concerning diplomatic and consular offices.

[Prlic] At a [word indistinct] government session [words indistinct] organization of the Foreign Ministry will be adopted, including the organization of the overall diplomatic-consular network in the world. I haven't started a revolution, I only continued what had been done so far. All these documents were to a greater or lesser extent in the final stage of preparation.

However, I can say this at present moment: There will be a reduction in the diplomatic and consular staff abroad, but a number of new consulates will be opened — in Greece, Canada, one or two consulates in South America. On the other hand, there will an increase in our staff in the Foreign Ministry here, in order to improve the quality of work, in the fields of protocol and information service. [passage omitted]

My stand is clear and I would like to make it known to the public of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole that the public will not be dealing with matters concerning the Foreign Ministry and its internal affairs.

Diplomats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and outside will have contacts [with the public] only within the Foreign Ministry. Those wishing to make their views known via the media will have no place in the Foreign Ministry. They can take part in election campaigns, join political parties, and so on. We shall endeavor here to introduce order and respect for very strict, though unwritten, rules of the diplomatic service. Those willing to fulfill these obligations and abide by the rules will always be welcome. The doors will always be open to them, regardless of their nationality. [passage omitted]

[Huskic] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, recently said in an interview for Bosnia-Herzegovina TV — speaking about the future strategy of the Foreign Ministry — that there would be no major changes in the present course of our foreign policy.

[Prlic] There won't be, on the whole. Our position is more or less known. We have become an interesting country, which does not correspond either to the number of inhabitants, our geo-strategic position, or to any other factor [as heard]. Because of this war, unfortunately, we have become the focus of attention of the international public. We have become an internal political issue for many countries. [passage omitted]

[Prlic] As for the priorities, there are two important ones and there are the landmarks of the overall foreign policy, and not just foreign policy. From the economic point of view, and this includes the overall organization of society, our aim is to become members of the EU; that is, to meet all the necessary criteria requested by the EU.

We already have support from a significant number of countries. This was achieved through bilateral contacts with these countries and multilateral contacts with the EU in Brussels. We have the backing for obtaining EU associate membership, which would make it possible for our products to enter this market. [passage omitted: other details]

The second priority is NATO membership. I received a letter from NATO Secretary General Solana a few days ago saying that Bosnia- Herzegovina's Partnership for Peace membership would be a considerable contribution to peace, stability, and security in this part of Europe, which undoubtedly means that we are very close to entering this big project.

At the same time, important activities are under way. We shall most probably have a mini pledging conference next week in one of the friendly countries concerning the necessary equipment, armament, and other things important for equipping the federal army. I believe that the project — despite certain difficulties, such as the adoption of the law on defense, the development of the overall defense system, and difficulties with

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resources... [pauses] I believe we will eliminate these problems and be in a position — by the end of IFOR's mandate — to build a modern and respectable military force which will permanently guarantee peace in this area.

This military force, the federal army, will be part of a bigger umbrella which safeguards peace and stability in all Western democratic countries. This is our aim and we would like to make it clear to all our citizens.

[Huskic] According to some comments and analyses, Serbia might join NATO before Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Prlic] No. That is up to NATO. We do not decide that issue. The stance on Yugoslavia — that is, Serbia and Montenegro — is that we will not stand in Yugoslavia's way of becoming a member of any organization, unless that hinders us in some way. This is a guideline for our action in general. Regardless of everything that happened in the past, this is how we will act.

I think that the meeting in Rome should put things in motion concerning the establishment of the international order in this region. We actually still [words indistinct] do not have a legal international order, there is still no mutual international recognition of the states that have been created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In talks with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], our representatives have been to Belgrade, Belgrade has set certain conditions necessary for establishing diplomatic relations. We are not ready to accept these conditions. We believe that Belgrade has no right to set any condition in that respect. I believe that in this respect we have the support of relevant international players. We are ready to establish diplomatic relations, and they are in the interest of Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course on the basis of full equality and everything else stipulated by international law.

[Huskic] In connection with that, we could now discuss the role of Russia, which has become involved in the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina indirectly, through Belgrade.

[Prlic] Russia has become involved. Certain things depend on the elections in Russia this year, but Russia is a member of the contact group. It supports the Dayton agreement, it took part in its preparation, and I believe it will take part fully in its implementation.

[Huskic] Mr. Warren Christopher's statement yesterday that the United States, the EU, and Russia will not allow any changes to the Dayton agreement says enough about that. However, nothing has ever been done concerning unilateral relations [as received] between Russia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, except for some initial ideas to open consular missions in Moscow and Sarajevo, but nothing has ever happened in Sarajevo.

[Prlic] I think that things have been done, and that we are on the best way to establishing full diplomatic relations, which includes the opening of diplomatic representations in both countries. I think that the process is going in the right direction and that this will be done very soon.

[Huskic] I am asking you this simply because Bosnia-Herzegovina had pronounced interests, especially economic ones, in Russia. Our companies had good business deals there and so on. Cooperation continued during the aggression. Will more work be done in that respect, seeing that we have natural gas and many other things that link us to Russia?

[Prlic] Cooperation will continue with all countries in the international community. We do not need to have any limitations or obstacles in political and economic cooperation with any internationally recognized country in the world. Russia included.

We had very developed economic cooperation, which we still have, with Russia. There is really no reason why this should not continue. [passage omitted]

[Huskic] Concerning relations with the Islamic world, with Islamic countries — during the aggression they turned out to be true friends — they helped this people and this country a lot. The development of these relations, and the development of relations with the West, the United States [sentence as received]. There have been several demands — voiced recently by IFOR [Implementation Force] officials too — that we have to balance out our military cooperation, especially with Iran.

[Prlic] We are ready to comply with all international obligations stemming from the Dayton agreement, but we will build our own independent position as we develop as a state and become capable of doing it. We are maintaining and will continue to maintain intensive relations with Islamic countries. I personally think that these relations should be promoted primarily in the economic sphere, and not only because 40 percent of Bosnia's population is Muslim, which is an important cohesive factor for these countries. Relations with the OIC are very good and the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina in fact united all members of that organization in one united stance. Many of them, especially those who can afford to, have provided economic and other assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think that in new circumstances — I have already spoken about that — there is a possibility to channel all these things in the right direction.

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In this respect, next month we will have several very important meetings with the Gulf states and some other Islamic countries. In mid-March a session of the mobilization group countries — set up in Kuala Lumpur last year — will be held. The group will define the modalities of providing assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will also cooperate with these countries in preparations for organizing the pledging conference in Brussels.

[Huskic] You mentioned cooperation with the OIC countries. That organization has set up a contact group. Malaysia made a huge contribution to assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina, but another country is very important for us: Turkey. Relations with Turkey are already very advanced. How will they develop? Turkey is a friend of the Federation, as well as the Republic of Austria.

[Prlic] Relations with Turkey indeed are a corner stone for overall relations with a very large group of countries. Turkey links together NATO, the OIC and a certain type of state which we — I will say this very frankly — intend to build here. There is interest in the world in [us building] such a state. In that respect Turkey's role is very important, and it will have a leading role in some of the programs I mentioned earlier. [passage omitted]

This is a comprehensive program which needs a certain number of people who will implement (?what has been agreed). We have many political problems in some initial issues in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. They have to be removed so that we can tackle the issue which will bring progress, I said this at the meeting we had today [15 February in Sarajevo]. We have mobilized considerable resources and many people at the highest positions to solve disputed issues from the past and the disputed issues that are troubling us now, but there is too little focus on the issues which mean the future of these peoples.

Our situation is not perfect, but it opens up certain possibilities and presents a challenge. We are at 6 percent of the pre-war economic activity. Only around 1 percent of the population is engaged in work that generates new income. The level is rather low, and I said this at a meeting attended by both governments; the federal and the republican one. We must tell the people one thing: We will ensure that the people live better every day. I think this a realistic proposal, and that we can do it. [passage omitted]

No miracle will happen here. The world is willing to help us economically up to a certain point, but most things depend on us: how capable we ourselves are of organizing and creating better life. The world is ready, but no one will hand out money liberally here. We are creating a dangerous way of thinking here, that the world is responsible for everything that has happened to us, and that the world will help us reach the standard of living in the West. That is absolutely unrealistic.

Another important thing I would like to mention now: I think that many things will be used and abused — to speak frankly — and attuned completely to the forthcoming elections. All the weaknesses that the authorities are suffering from — and will suffer from because the authorities are only to be created now — will be taken advantage. It is easy to manipulate people, to make easy promises, but I think that we are all responsible to the people.

Why am I saying this? I hold the position I hold in the republic's government because we have the complete peace package, the overall peace solution, we have Bosnia-Herzegovina defined as it needs to be like in the future and function as an international entity. I think that we all need to understand that this is the definitive solution, and that there can be no exceptions from it. I believe that anyone who promises anything else to the people is leading them into a huge adventure, and all three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina have had enough adventures.

[Words indistinct] someone to understand my words as the election campaign. I think we really must start speaking about the way things really are, and use these six months for exceptionally hard and patient work on the implementation and the building of the state system, we must prepare laws on — for example — the privatization of companies and apartments, we must create an economic system without restrictions, without unnecessary procedures, we must build an open economy because it is only in an open economy that we have a chance of getting out of this situation reasonably quickly.

[Huskic] May I ask you to stay a little longer on this subject — the domestic plan. According to some analyses, we are currently one of the cheapest countries in the sense of the consumer basket, i.e. the vital foodstuffs. At least that is what the Ministry of Trade is saying. This was made possible by the liberalization of imports and private traders were left in peace to their own business.

[Prlic] It is very easy to manipulate the state. [Words indistinct] democratization in order to conduct the state policy in the most competent way, including the economic policy. The basic aim of any po-licy of restriction is private interest. We must prevent private interests. We must not allow a handful of the richest people to lead this country. We must build an economy which is compatible with those in the world and which

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can yield appropriate results in the shortest period of time.

[Words indistinct] we are not the cheapest state. We cannot be the cheapest state because transport costs are quite high. Our customs duty is not at all low. Depening on the legal system it can be even considerably higher than envisaged by GATT or the World Trade Organization. [passage omitted]

[Huskic] Another big issue in Bosnia- Herzegovina is refugees. The Foreign Ministry, together with the Ministry for Refugees and Social Issues, has many contacts with our people in diaspora and certainly helps those people with many things, such as accommodation, visas, and legal issues in their host countries.

[Prlic] Yes [words indistinct] we set up the Ministry for Diaspora and Refugees, which will deal with these issues. I can say that in line with the Dayton agreement the UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] has been given the leading role in that project. The UNHCR's first predictions were very optimistic — that we can expect the return of 1 million refugees and expelled people this year. I would like this to be true.

Priorities for the return have been defined. The highest priority has been given to the people expelled from their homes, who are still in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The second on the list of priorities is the refugees in the states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia; and the third on the list is the return of refugees — as is specified — from countries of the West. Programs are being prepared in line with this. We will play an active role in this process. The whole package, the peace process and everything that accompanies it, must result in enabling people who left the country to return. According to [word indistinct] data, 50 percent of them are in the country and 50 percent are abroad.

[Huskic] Another interesting question about refugees: Many of them would like to stay in their host countries. The ministry will certainly mediate with the countries who have accepted our people.

[Prlic] Yes, we will cooperate with those countries. We have already signed some interstate agreements.

However, we must bear in mind one thing, which we clearly said to Sadako Ogata in our talks: Everyone must be given an opportunity to return home, to come back and be given assistance. What one does after that, that is one's personal choice. The peace agreement, the international community, and all important officials in Bosnia- Herzegovina — whether they are in one or the other entity or at the level of the overall state — must ensure that everyone is given the opportunity to use his or her apartment or house in which they lived before the war. Whether people are given assistance and how much they are given to help rebuild their house if it is burned or destroyed — this is part of what I am talking about. After that it is one's personal choice and one's democratic right what one does with it.

[Huskic] Speaking about the return of refugees to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia plays a big role in this, by the virtue of the fact that all routes to Bosnia cross our neighboring and friendly country. Relations in the building of the Federation depend largely on Zagreb's policy and its policy on refugees in the country, the return of Bosniaks and Croats. Can you comment a bit more on relations with Croatia?

[Prlic] Yes, I can. I said this in my talks with the Croatian foreign minister. The international community does not need to use the Republic of Croatia, except when — so to say — the disciplining of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina is at issue or the implementation of what has been agreed.

I think that by including Croats in the institutions of their country — as has been agreed — we can start building a community in which all constitutional and other rights will be respected, and in which one will be able to lead a good life. This is why I am stressing the respect for all national, religious, and other freedoms, the standard of which is much higher than is the norm because they are a constitutional nation.

It is clear that to a large extent Zagreb is on Sarajevo's way to Europe, but the opposite it true, too. It has become clear in talks with the international community that many things, including Croatia's involvement in international integrations, depend on the situation in Sarajevo. We need to talk about all these issues clearly and frankly. In that respect, I have underlined these issues when and where they had to be underlined. I will act in line with that as long as I discharge this duty in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A relationship exists there. I spoke about it at the first session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia cooperation council. It is the minority syndrome. For example, the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina have the minority syndrome in relation to the Bosniak-Muslim nation. At the same time, in the overall relationships with Croats, that is the Republic of Croatia, the Bosniak-Muslim nation gets the minority syndrome — it becomes afraid of the imperialist policy, that somebody will.... [changes thought] The thinking develops in categories that are essentially medieval and cannot exist in contemporary state systems.

We must be absolutely ready for opening of all forms of cooperation with Croatia. Without cooperation with

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Croatia, it is difficult for us to realize all the state policy tasks and it would be difficult to improve the overall standard of living and quality of life in these areas. We must understand this, and I think that such a climate is gaining more and more ground in all spheres of social life and work, both here and in Croatia.

[Huskic] Let us summarize this conversation. Let us state what would be the constituent parts of a future strategy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, practically the future strategy of Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign policy.

[Prlic] The highest level of professional attitudes toward work and implementation of a state policy that must be adopted through democratic methods, not in some narrow centers or leadership circles but only in democratically elected institutions, that is in parliaments. I will be implementing such policies within the ministry. I believe we will be able to form a narrow base of professionals who will fulfill their tasks so the foreign policy can play an important role in the implementation of the peace process and creation of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its two entities — so that we who inhabit these areas finally begin to think about the future and the good that future can bring us and stop contemplating the past, with which no one among us can be happy.

[Huskic] Mr. Minister, thank you.

B-H: Serbs' Kasagic Satisfied With Rome Meeting Results

LD1802182496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Rome, 18 Feb (TANJUG) — Rajko Kasagic, the prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told TANJUG and Serbian Television today that it had been agreed at the Rome summit, which has just ended, that the sanctions against the Serb Republic will be lifted in the course of the next week, and that the problem of Sarajevo had been solved satisfactorily.

Expressing his satisfaction with the results achieved, Kasagic said that considerable progress was made at the Rome summit, and that many problems were solved.

He stressed that excesses must not and cannot halt the course of the peace process, and that everyone had to continue cooperating and ensuring the freedom of movement.

When the sanctions are suspended, economic cooperation will be reestablished with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Muslim-Croat entity in Bosnia, and all the countries formed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and then also with Europe and the whole world, Kasagic explained.

Railway transport on the Tuzla-Banja Luka and Tuzla-Zvornik-Belgrade lines will be established, the problems of supplying electricity to Banja Luka and Gorazde will be solved... [agency ellipses] These issues are very important for the existence and life of the people in the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Serb Sarajevo will remain wholly Serb until 19 March, Serb authorities and Serb police will stay there. An agreement on the modalities of taking over the police and authorities in line with the Dayton agreement should be reached within these 30 days.

It has been agreed that the Serbs will be represented in the bodies of authority to reflect their percentage of the population according to the 1991 census, which, as Kasagic said, is far more favorable than the existing number of residents.

Many people have left Sarajevo. According to the 1991 census, there were 160,000 Serbs in Sarajevo, Kasagic said.

If the president of the assembly is a Serb, the head will be a Muslim, or vice versa. It has been agreed that all citizens of Serb nationality, or any other nationality, can lodge complains if their rights are violated.

From 20 March, Sarajevo will see a gradual arrival of police, international police, and then the police of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, in which the Serbs will be represented according to their percentage of the population in the 1991 census. Every policemen will have an identification number, verified by international police, which means that only approved people will be able to do this job, which is a big guarantee for the Serbs, Kasagic said.

He added that the Serbs will be able to teach their scripture and their language at schools, and some time in the future, if there is interest, the Serbs will be allowed to exchange property.

Serbs will be able to work in Serb Sarajevo or in Sarajevo, to live in Sarajevo, and work in Pale and vice versa. The freedom of movement is guaranteed, Kasagic said in the interview with TANJUG and Serbian Television.

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B-H: Serb PM Kasagic Interviewed on Rome Meeting

AU1802220296 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 18 Feb 96

[Interview with Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the Serbian Republic, by special TANJUG correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic in Rome on 18 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. Kasagic, you represented the Serbian Republic [RS] in Rome. What are the results of the two-day meeting, what is most important for the RS, and what agreements have been reached?

[Kasagic] [Word indistinct] have noticed certain tensions that appeared in implementing the Dayton agreement, something that could have escalated. The mini-summit in Rome was planned to abate these tensions, to have some problems solved, prevent excess situations and bring to the cessation the implementation of the Dayton agreement, and I am extremely satisfied with what we have achieved here.

[Word indistinct] key issues have been agreed: Sanctions on the RS should be suspended during this week and the problem of the Serb Sarajevo has been solved in a satisfactory way, in the way that will suit the Serbs best.

Thus, Serb Sarajevo will remain completely Serb until 19 March with Serb authorities and Serb police. Within the month, we should agree upon the best way to take over the police and the authorities in accordance with the Dayton agreement. It has been concluded that the number of Serb citizens should be used to establish how many members should be in authoritative positions. To establish this, one should consult the 1991 census which represents more the number of Serb citizens in Sarajevo than is present now.

[Jevdjovic] Considering the fact that a certain number of people have left, is it so?

[Kasagic] A considerable number of people have left. According to the 1991 census, we had 160,000 citizens in Sarajevo, far more than today. If the assembly chairman is a Serb, its supervisor [nacelnik] will be a Muslim, and vice versa. It was agreed that all citizens of Serb nationality, and others too, may complain if they question that some right has been violated. They may complain to the assembly chairman and the supervisor who will be solving that issue. As of 20 March, the police, the international police will be gradually introduced, followed by the police of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Serbs will be represented according to the percentage of their citizens in 1991. Every policeman will have his identity number checked by the international police, which means that not everybody will be able to serve as police, which is a great guarantee. Therefore, I think that the Serbs have no reason to be afraid that their rights will be violated. In school they will be able to learn their script, their language, and there is no reason for them to leave [word indistinct] for some fear. In some future time, it will be enabled to them to naturally exchange [word indistinct], this will be made possible to them.

The Serbs will be able to work in the Serb Sarajevo or in Sarajevo, to live in Sarajevo and work at Pale and vice versa. The freedom of movement is guaranteed.

[Jevdjovic] Tell us one more thing: Already during this week, it may be expected that the decision on suspending the sanctions on the SR be formalized. What does this mean in practice?

[Kasagic] That means that economic cooperation will be made possible with Yugoslavia, with the all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with all regions in the former Yugoslavia, with Europe and the rest of the world.

The links of economic cooperation with the Federation have been established. Next comes making possible the functioning of the railroads of Tuzla-Banja Luka, Tuzla-Zvornik, and Belgrade, as well as, solving the problems of electrical supplies to Banja Luka, Gorazde, and so on. I think that these issues are very important for the existence and the life of citizens in the SR and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Jevdjovic] Is this a step forward in the overall implementation of the peace agreement?

[Kasagic] I even think that these are two steps forward and that many problems that have piled up and [words indistinct] and I think that excess situations must not and cannot stop the course of the peace process and that we must continue cooperation. All commissions, the army, must cooperate and ensure the freedom of movement.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you.

[Kasagic] Not at all.

B-H: Kasagic Comments on Lifting of Economic Sanctions

AU2002143096 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 19 Feb 96

[Interview with "Serb Republic Prime Minister" Rajko Kasagic by Nikola Deretic — live; from the "Dnevnik" program — reception becomes unmonitorable after approximately 10 minutes]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Deretic] World agencies have reported on numerous reactions to the Contact Group

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meeting held in Rome. They all say it was a very successful meeting that eliminated the key obstacles to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. At the beginning of our "Dnevnik" newscast, we are using the opportunity to get additional, firsthand information, as our guest tonight is Serb Republic Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic. Good evening.

[Kasagic] Good evening.

[Deretic] Several issues need to be elaborated on. Before you went to Rome, you announced that you would demand the lifting of sanctions. Returning from Rome, at Belgrade airport, President Milosevic and you categorically announced that the sanctions will really be lifted. What is that statement based on and who will get the credit, who is responsible for lifting the sanctions?

[Kasagic] All my activities in the implementation of the Dayton accord were designed to make ambassadors, as well as Mr. Bildt and Mrs. Elisabeth Rehn, understand that the economic blockade against the Serbs is the main hindrance to the implementation of the Dayton accord. Otherwise relations cannot be established, you cannot have cooperation, flow of goods, capital, labor, etc. Therefore, President Milosevic and myself, as well as FRY Foreign Minister Milutinovic, thought that the key to the implementation of the Dayton Accord lies in the lifting of the blockade against the Serb Republic. On the first day, we tried to point out which problems jeopardize the implementation of Dayton Accord. That afternoon and on the second day, we talked about bilateral relations and had contacts with the representatives of other countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and Croatia. That was said to be the key problem, the hinderance of progress in the Serb Republic, to establishing relations with the Bosnia-Herzegovina entity. Everyone agreed that the sanctions must be lifted. President Milosevic demanded that it be immediately made a part of the Rome document, but that was postponed pending the session of the UN Security Council, which is supposed to take place this week.

[Deretic] Today, many agencies have appealed for the Serbs not to leave Sarajevo. What is the guarantee that all three nations will indeed be treated as equal? What is that guarantee based on?

[Kasagic] There are several guarantees that do not apply to any other town, and I am not sure that no other town would accept such guarantees as were given to the Sarajevo Serbs. The composition of the authorities is based on the 1991 census. If the chairman of the municipal assembly is a Muslim, the head, i.e. the president of the executive council will be a Serb, and vice-versa. It was agreed that policemen be approved by the international forces on the basis of a records file [evidencijska kartica]. In other words, not just anyone can be a policeman. The police will be supervised by IFOR [Implementation Force] police; IFOR guarantees the safety of all of them. Furthermore, a quorum must be present for discussion of individual rights, for any violations of the rights of individuals. Every citizen has a right to file a complaint against civil-rights violations with the municipal assembly chairman and the president, who will solve those problems together. In other words, there are maximal guarantees, at least from the legal point of view. From the viewpoint of existing forces, we can even say that guarantees are factual. [sentence as heard] All that has been done to enable the Serbs to leave Sarajevo at their own pace, so as not to force them to leave their homes now in this winter, without proper accommodation. I do not think we could have found a better legal solution. [reception becomes unmonitorable]

B-H: Opposition Parties Oppose Results of Rome Summit

AU1902162596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have received the first reactions by Bosnia-Herzegovina political parties to the Rome meeting.

The Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO] of Bosnia-Herzegovina believes that the Rome meeting was unnecessary. Nothing has emerged from it to speed up the implementation of the Dayton agreement. The LBO believes that the Croatian president is still conducting a policy that is in contradiction with the Dayton agreement, although he is regularly the first to sign any documents to speed up the establishment of the Federation. This party takes the view that the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities will normalize relations with Serbia and the Serb entity sooner than with Croatia, since it is in Milosevic's interest to have the sanctions lifted against Serbia as soon as possible.

The Liberal Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina claims that the Rome summit represents the watering down of the Dayton agreement to the detriment of Bosnian interests, and Mostar was given as an example. Koschnick's decision was changed and the central zone reduced. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Liberals believe that what is at work here is a tendency toward a complete territorialization of nations in Bosnia- Herzegovina, the creation of ethnically pure areas, which could be very dangerous for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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B-H: Izetbegovic Holds News Conference on Rome Talks

AU1902171096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 96

[Report by Miralem Kruskic on a news conference by President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Ejup Ganic, Presidency member and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina vice president, and Federation Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic in Sarajevo on 19 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kruskic] Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic was the first to address reporters:

[Izetbegovic] First of all, we have expressed our commitment to the consistent implementation of the Dayton agreement and have praised the effectiveness with which the Implementation Force [IFOR] has been deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As you know, it appears that this process was completed yesterday. However, we did complain about certain faltering by IFOR in some incidents. We mentioned their ineffectiveness in some cases. We mentioned the attacks on trams and buses, the arrest of our reporter Mr. Delic, who was taken away under the noses of IFOR. [Word indistinct] with General Joulwan, NATO commander in Europe, who was present there, and Admiral Smith.

Of course, our talks with Serbian President Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman, and Holbrooke were of particular importance. I also paid a protocol visit to Italian President Scalfaro.

With President Milosevic I raised a series of issues concerning the implementation of the Dayton agreement and, in that context, the elimination of the war criminals Karadzic and Mladic and generally cooperation with the Hague tribunal, which is not satisfactory. I was told that this issue was very high on the agenda of Holbrooke's talks with Milosevic. I asked President Milosevic about the return of the Serb side to the negotiating process, which as you know has been stalled for a while.

We have made the first steps of Bosnia-Herzegovina toward Serbia. The first steps relate to economic cooperation and the establishment of communications. President Milosevic expressed agreement with this trend. In this context, we mentioned the possibility of opening the Zvornik-Tuzla rail line, then the Tuzla-Doboj one, and then up to Banja Luka, as well as the establishment of unhindered telephone traffic. We reached agreement in principle on this.

I protested with President Milosevic against the treatment of our prisoners from Zepa, who have been in two camps in Serbia since [words indistinct]. We agreed that the remaining Zepa men who are still in a camp there should be transferred to Bosnia-Herzegovina and should be visited by a team of ours, probably as soon as tomorrow [word indistinct].

I reminded President Milosevic of his promise to release the Sandzak people who have been convicted in the political processes during last year and the year before. We agreed (?to meet) in about a month to discuss the things that we agreed on then.

In our talks with President Tudjman of course the main issue was Mostar and the Federation. We discussed relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The decision is still in force that the two governments, those of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, should meet in Ploce on (?26) February to discuss three or four important issues, particularly the use of the port of Ploce for Bosnia-Herzegovina's needs, the problems of visas, and the problem of property of the two countries. Of course the most delicate issue has been Mostar, and this issue took up most of the time, bringing the conference to the verge of collapse. A new agreement on Mostar was proposed to us and the Croatian side, which revises the Koschnick's latest plan in terms of the size of the central zone.

[Kruskic] After President Izetbegovic, Dr. Ganic wanted to add a couple of things connected to the talks on the Federation. He said that there was talk about the Neretva and the Central Bosnian cantons. Following long talks with the Croatian side, these cantons had their earlier agreed status preserved. Mr. Ganic said that the talks also concerned refugees and freedom of movement, as well as pensions within the Federation. It is known that pensions are extremely high on the territory under the control of the Croatian Defense Council. In cooperation with the IMF the pensions will be brought into line on the entire federation territory.

Federation Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic said that our delegation had not managed to impose the issue of the economic reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Muratovic said that we had expected to solve the issue of the slow influx of finances for the reconstruction of our country. The main reason for this is that the United States is not ready to offer assistance, since it has not yet solved the issue of its budget with the Congress. Many countries are waiting for the United States to move before starting to send assistance themselves.

B-H: Mostar Mayor Resigns Over New Partition Plan

AU1902171596 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 19 (AFP) — The mayor of Moslem-controlled

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east Mostar Safet Orucevic on Monday [19 February] handed in his resignation to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic because of disagreement over reworked plans to redraw the map of the divided town, east Mostar radio and television said.

Orucevic said in a letter to Izetbegovic that he did not agree with amendments put forward at the weekend Rome summit on Bosnia to a plan by EU administrator Hans Koschnick on carving up Mostar.

The letter was read out on the radio.

The mayor said his decision was not "directed against" the outcome of the Rome summit, but that it was a "personal stance" directly related to the EU's decision to tinker with Koschnick's original plan.

At the summit, Koschnick's plan was broadly upheld, with three districts for each community and one central district.

But the main central district would be much smaller than earlier planned, following an outbreak of Croat violence against plans for the central district, which they claimed favoured the Moslems.

Mostar was placed under EU administration in July 1994, following 11 months of fierce fighting between the Croats and mainly Moslem Bosnian troops.

B-H: Izetbegovic Refuses Mostar Mayor's Resignation

AU1902185096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following report from B-H PRESS:

Following the publicly announced resignation by Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic, President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency has sent a letter to the Mostar mayor, informing him that he is not accepting his resignation and announcing that he will be coming to Mostar soon.

President Izetbegovic also says in his letter that tomorrow — when complete freedom of movement is supposed to be established in Mostar — will be the real test of the Rome agreement.

B-H: Zubak Wants Mostar Talks Continued Until Resolved

AU1602192996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 96

[Statement by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo on 16 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] What we have agreed on is that dialogue is necessary, that it should be continued as early as tomorrow in Rome. If the talks in Rome do not produce adequate results, the talks should continue until a solution is found and a situation that will serve to create a complete normalization of Mostar, and all those functions that should [words indistinct].

B-H: Izetbegovic Unwilling To Further Compromise on Mostar

LD1602220496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2147 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 16 (TANJUG) — Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic said on Friday he was no longer willing to compromise about the European Union's plan for the reunification of Mostar.

The plan of EU's Mostar Administrator Hans Koschnick is already a compromise in itself, said Izetbegovic after talks with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic in Sarajevo.

"The problem in Mostar is not borders of municipalities. What should be solved is the problem of elementary human rights and freedom of movement," REUTER quoted him as saying.

Granic told reporters that the talks were constructive but "improvements" were needed.

"We think it is necessary to find certain modifications that would be an improvement. We need general improvements within the Federation," said Granic.

Federation President Kresimir Zubak, who also met Granic, said more dialogue was needed.

"The dialogue should be continued tomorrow in Rome and if appropriate results are not achieved then it is necessary to continue talks until a settlement is found and a completely normal situation in Mostar reached," said Zubak.

Since the signing of the Dayton accords last November, the situation in the divided city of Mostar in southern Bosnia- Herzegovina has become very tense.

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Tensions culminated last week when Bosnian Croats, dissatisfied with Koshnick's plan, staged protest rallies, demolished the E.U. headquarters in the city and stoned and shot a dozen bullets at Koschnik's armoured car.

B-H: EU Administrator Koschnick Views Mostar Agreement

AU1902135596 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 19 Feb 96

[Report by Susanna Newakla on news conference by Hans Koschnick, EU administrator in Mostar, in Vienna on 19 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Newakla] Until a few days ago, an agreement between the Croats and Muslims in Mostar seemed to be impossible. The Croats vehemently opposed the plan on the division of the city presented by EU Administrator Hans Koschnick. Because of a jointly administered zone for which it provided, the plan was unacceptable for them. Hans Koschnick, who is currently visiting Vienna, substantiates the fact that the Croats agreed to it all the same on the weekend [17 to 18 February] as follows:

[Koschnick] I think that the Croat side has understood that it was on the point of endangering the Dayton plan and the federation, and that the European countries and the Americans, too, are not prepared to give in to the maneuvers of certain small groups — in the Croat nationalist leadership, I say, not in the government — but state: You must now say if you really want to develop a relationship with Europe. Then, this is not a one-way street. In that case, your wishes are our wishes and we must try to jointly find a solution. [passage omitted]

[Newakla] The completely unhindered freedom of movement in the so far divided city is to be possible again as of tomorrow. Persons who have fled to places within Mostar are permitted to return to their old apartments, unless, as Koschnick says, the apartments are occupied by other refugees.

At the Croats' request, the central zone, which was controversial to the end, was reduced on their side: a restriction of the plan that Koschnick gladly accepts.

[Koschnick] Where both sides wanted it and the president and the vice president of the federation signed it, there is no reason for me to insist on an award that was only made because the two sides were not able to come to an agreement. Thus, it is their country and their city. If they say that things are to be like that, that is the way it should be. I do not mind.

[Newakla] Finally, how does Koschnick view the chance of the implementation of the new agreement for Mostar?

[Koschnick] Would you please call me at 1500 on Tuesday [20 February]? I will fly back to Mostar today. The deadline is 1200 on Tuesday. At 1500, I will be able to tell the international press whether the Croat side will do it or not.

B-H: EU's Koschnick: Reunification 'Takes Time'

AU2002143196 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 20 Feb 96

[Report by Susanne Newrekla, including statements by Hans Koschnick, EU administrator of Mostar, in Vienna on 19 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Newrekla] Even though the agreement between the Muslims and Croats on the reunification of the city of Mostar gives rise to new hopes for peaceful coexistence, its practical implementation is still connected with many difficulties. For example, only a small number of refugees will be able to return to their homes in the near future, that is, those whose houses were occupied as war booty, EU Administrator Hans Koschnick states. In the case of houses into which refugees from other regions have moved, the return of the original owners will take longer.

[Koschnick] We have a large number of expelled Croats. These people first have to go home. I cannot turn out an expelled refugee so that another expelled refugee can be given back his apartment.

[Newrekla] However, the return will be most difficult for mixed families. According to Koschnick, mixed marriages between the different ethnic groups amounted to about 40 percent of all marriages in Mostar. They are no longer welcome anywhere. The agreement between Muslims and Croats in Rome also cannot change that.

[Koschnick] It can only be solved in the heads of the people, that is, not the people who are here as refugees, but those who stayed at home. If the churches — the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church — and the religious communities of Islam say that they want to have them back, this is solved. However, if they do not say that — I have not heard it yet — I will ask the Europeans: Help these people and do not send them back.

[Newrekla] Nevertheless, Hans Koschnick regards the official reunification of the divided city of Mostar as a basis for a new beginning of normal coexistence between Muslims and Croats. Today at noon, it will be shown whether the two sides are really prepared to

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adhere to the agreement. At 1200, at noon, a Muslim-Croat police unit is to enter into service. In addition, the inhabitants of the city will be permitted to move freely between the parts of the city as of that time. Altogether, however, one must be patient until the agreement becomes a new reality, Hans Koschnick says.

[Koschnick] Reunification is an organic process. Real unification starts in peoples' heads. This takes time. Therefore, I say that Dayton is not a peace treaty for me. Dayton is a long-term cease-fire agreement from which peace will develop if shots are no longer fired, let us say, in 10 years. For peace, it is required to accept the other and the fact that he is different. All three population groups are not yet capable of it.

B-H: IFOR Confirms Captured Iranians Linked to Embassy

AU1602191996 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 16 Feb 96

[All names as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 16 (AFP) — The three Iranians detained by NATO troops in a raid on a terrorist camp in central Bosnia were all from the Iranian Embassy in Sarajevo, peace Implementation Force (IFOR) officials said Friday.

The three were detained by IFOR soldiers after a French-led swoop on a terrorist training camp Thursday.

Eight others, all Bosnians were also picked up by IFOR during the raid on a secluded ski chalet near Fojnica, west of Sarajevo.

An IFOR spokesman, Larry Forbes, said one of the trio, Mohammed Hossein Pour Salem, had a diplomatic passport and was released earlier Friday. The other two, Alireza Jafarzadem and Ali Asmir Alishahi, were carrying service passports which do not offer diplomatic immunity.

Forbes also said letters were exchanged between Bosnian Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and the commander of IFOR ground forces, General Sir Michael Walker, before the release of the men.

"Walker's letter (to Muratovic) simply said that the group was going to be released and that he hoped the Iranians would be dealt with appropriately in accordance with the Dayton agreement. Mr Muratovic assured us they would," he said.

Under Bosnia's Dayton peace accord foreign-born forces are banned from staying in the country. Islamic volunteer fighters fought on the Bosnian government side during Bosnia's conflict, while Iran has helped Bosnia's fledgling armed force with military equipment and advice.

B-H: Government: IFOR Raided Anti-Terrorist Training Camp

AU1602195196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 96

[Report by Miralem Kruskic on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry spokesman Nermin Ruvic in Sarajevo on 16 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kruskic] Interior Ministry spokesman Nermin Ruvic addressed the foreign and local reporters with a statement:

[Ruvic] At about 1400 [1300 GMT] on 16 February 1996, members of the Implementation Force [IFOR] from the U.S. Armed Forces carried out an airborne assault on the plateau of Mt. Podgorelica without previously announcing it to the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities. The aim of these activities was to investigate the alleged presence of some 200 mujahidin at this location.

On this occasion a unit of some 250 IFOR troops entered the said facility. They found and detained five individuals there, not 11 as some media have reported. Of these, four are Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens and one is a foreign citizen. This facility is one of those established for the training of special anti-terrorist units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs for the purpose of apprehending war criminals. From 1993 to 1995, this location was a training facility, where our instructors and periodically instructors from foreign countries were based. During this operation, two more foreign nationals arrived at the facility to take away some of their equipment. They were also detained by IFOR.

We believe that a military operation of these proportion was inappropriate, particularly as one thing is clear: Not one activity in the said facility was aimed against IFOR, but rather against war criminals.

[Kruskic] Mr. Ruvic stressed that he would not respond to any questions, as he was not authorized to do so.

B-H: Izetbegovic Admits to More Military Training Camps

LD1702194896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President of Bosnia-Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic has said that the skiing resort near Fojnica is not the only place where

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Bosnian forces are being trained to capture war criminals.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We have more such camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where we train people to hunt down war criminals. We will continue that activity. [end recording]

The criminals must be brought to The Hague. If IFOR [Implementation Force] will not arrest them, there is somebody who will.

B-H: IFOR Hands Over Islamic 'Terrorists' to Authorities

LD1702142296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1411 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (TANJUG) — The eleven members of the terrorist group arrested near the Muslim town of Fojnica Thursday evening were handed over by IFOR [Implementation Force] to the authorities in Sarajevo Saturday.

This was announced by IFOR spokesman in Sarajevo Major Peter Bullock who confirmed Saturday that in the group, besides eight Bosnian Muslims, there were three Iranian instructors.

News agencies quoted Bullock as saying that one of them with a diplomatic passport of the Iranian Mission in Sarajevo had to be released, while the other two Iranians will probably be deported.

Since NATO has no jurisprudence in Bosnia, the Sarajevo authorities are expected to put on trial the terrorists handed over to them, AP reported. However, this has rarely been the case, it added.

When the eleven terrorists were arrested, IFOR discovered in their camp near Fojnica large quantities of modern weapons, booby traps and kidnapping plans.

IFOR Commander Admiral Leighton Smith accused Friday the Muslim government in Sarajevo of being associated with the camp for training terrorists, while Washington indicated that it could reexamine its relations with the Bosnian Muslim leadership.

B-H: Iranians Released by NATO, Return to Embassy

LD1702195896 Tehran IRIB Television Second Program Network in Persian 1900 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnian Government has severely condemned the attack by NATO forces on a military training center in that country.

The statement issued by the B[illegible] Interior Ministry describes the action taken by the NATO forces as showing disregard for international rules and regulations, as well as for Bosnian laws.

NATO forces said yesterday that they had arrested a number of people, including three Iranians, in the course of an attack on a military center in Sarajevo.

The embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Sarajevo has issued a statement condemning the attack by NATO forces on the Bosnian police training center and describing it as a premeditated act. The statement describes NATO's action as a propaganda measure aimed at deflecting international public opinion from Qods [Jerusalem] Day. The statement has also described the action of NATO forces with respect to their unprincipled treatment of the citizens of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a violation of international regulations and of current Bosnian Government laws.

The latest reports state that the three arrested Iranians have been released, through the joint efforts of our country's embassy in Sarajevo and the Bosnian Government, and they are now at the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

B-H: IRNA on NATO Raid of 'Bosnian Training Center'

LD1702220296 Tehran IRNA in English 2153 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb. 17, IRNA — NATO and the international arrogance have bungled by attacking a Bosnian police training center, said a Bosnian official here Saturday.

The official who was speaking on condition of anonymity said that the Bosnian Muslims would not condone "such outrage of the laws of the state of Bosnia," adding that the intrusion would leave its adverse effects in the Bosnian community.

The official stated that the raid carried out by the NATO on the police center without the legal authority of the Bosnian Government was a clear violation of the norms of the sovereignty of the state.

He went on to say that the showing on t.v. of the portrays of the father of revolution, Imam Khomeyni and of the leader of Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, both allegedly found on the premises was simply a dastardly scheme to incriminate Iran as supporting state terrorism.

He said also that the beatings of the three Iranian nationals was also an outright breach of the norms of international diplomacy. He went to point out that the Islamic Republic of Iran had always been at the side of the Bosnian people in the most trying times of the war

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of ethnic cleansing which had ravaged Bosnia for years. The official did not rule out the likelihood of Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, being put under pressure by the United States to agree to giving concessions.

The Bosnian source stated that the Bosnian Government had been given absolutely no explanation by the NATO forces why they had yet proved unable to capture the two most notorious international criminals, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Serbian war criminals, despite their full paraphernalia of intelligence.

The official concluded by saying that the international arrogance was concerned about the two Serb criminals who were recently handed over to the international court of Hague by the Bosnian Government.

He said that the international arrogance had no right whatsoever to interfere in the matter, adding that such an act was designed to give the parties at tripatrite meeting an upper hand against the Bosnian side which device, he said, would not eventually avail them.

B-H: HVO Says Mujahidin Preparing Plans Against IFOR

AU2002091796 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 96 p 5

[Report by Zvonimir Cilic: "'Humanitarian Worker' With an Automatic Rifle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] That the path from a killer to a humanitarian worker is not long and difficult, at least regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina and its "Mujahidins," is confirmed every day. Instead of all the mujahidin leaving Bosnia-Herzegovina by 14 January as is stipulated by the Dayton agreement, they are changing their teeth (clothes) and are becoming "humanitarian workers." There is evidence in Bosnia that the wolf (the mujahidin) may lose its teeth, but never its nature.

Several days ago, members of the Travnik police in Nova Bila arrested a Saudi Arabian citizen, Ahmed Z.S. Zuhairi, born on 16 October 1965. He was traveling from Bihac to Sarajevo in a Nissan car,bearing the number plates KA UC-52 as a member of, as he said, the Saudi Committee humanitarian organization. However, he had no documents of the above-mentioned humanitarian organization. In Nova Bila, he was involved in a road accident, which was in fact the reason for the careful inspection of his documents and the vehicle. In the vehicle's trunk, there were three automatic rifles, two hand grenades, and a dagger. Ahmed claimed innocently that he himself was surprised at the discovery. From the documents that were found, it was obvious that the vehicle had belonged to the notorious El Mujahid organization, whose headquarters used to be in the village of Podbrijeg near Zenica until recently. How is it that a mujahidin vehicle is in the service of a Saudi humanitarian organization? Ahmed could not explain this. Among his personal documents was also a permit "to move out of the unit's center," issued by VJ 5680 Travnik and bearing a stamp of the Reconnaissance-Saboteur Battalion of the 7th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. His passport was full of border crossings stamps and entry visas (Pakistan, Jordan, Syria, Slovenia, Italy, Croatia....)

He told us that he was married and that his wife and five children live in a small place in Saudi Arabia. He came to Bosnia because he was attracted by a good salary and the wish to help the "suffering peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina." In Bosnia, while helping the suffering people and at the same time earning money to feed his five children and six brothers and sisters, he married Seadeta Tutnic, born 29 September 1978 in Zeljezno Polje in the Zepce municipality. Seadeta is pregnant and is expecting to give birth to Ahmed's child soon.

His identity and the documents are still being checked and, as we have learned from the relevant bodies, the initial results show that Ahmed Zahair is member of a mujahidin unit in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a member of a well-known Middle Eastern terrorist organization.

Only a few days later, that is, on Saturday 10 February, four foreign citizens were arrested during a routine check by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] military police on the Kresevo-Kiseljak road because they lacked appropriate documentation for the Nissan vehicle bearing number plates UN 35531.

According to their personal documents, it was established that the driver of the UN vehicle was Ahmad al-Nusairet, son of Muhamed, born on 1 April 1953 in Jordan. His passengers were: Hermas Sami, son of Jasmil, born on 28 October 1973 in Konjic, Bosnia-Herzegovina (his mother is a Bosnian Muslim and his father is Jordanian), a Jordanian citizen; El-Rayes Hussein Ramadan, son of Ramadan, born on 3 December 1972 in Gaza, Palestine, a student in Sarajevo (according to him), and since 1992 a member of a medical unit of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and Muhamed al-Homani, son of Ali, born on 10 January 1968 in Jordan; he has been studying in Sarajevo since last year. Prior to that, he had worked for UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

IFOR [Implementation force] has been informed about the arrest of these five men. During the joint investigation, it was established that the Nissan driver, Ahmad Mohamad al-Nusairet, was an UNPROFOR employee and that he was not authorized to use the vehicle and carry foreign citizens in it.

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The competent HVO institutions in Vitez Municipality have told us that the investigation so far shows that they are members of mujahidin units, and that many of them have stayed in Bosnia, preparing themselves to cause serious incidents for IFOR representatives, which they would then accuse the Croat side of. IFOR has been informed about this. Police checks on all roads in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia have been stepped up.

B-H: U.S. Intent To Review Bosnian Regime Ties Noted

LD1702130596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 17 Feb 96

["U.S. Patience With Izetbegovic Starts Running Out" — TANJUG headline; "Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Feb 17 (TANJUG) — U.S. officials have indicated an intent to review relations with Alija Izetbegovic's regime, following the discovery of a camp for training Islamic fighters, or 'Mojahedin', for terrorists attacks on NATO troops in Bosnia.

On Friday, probably for the first time since the beginning of the war in Bosnia, it could be heard in Washington that the Clinton administration was 'appalled' by reports that NATO troops had discovered a terrorists camp near Fojnica, a Muslim town not far from Sarajevo.

Among the 11 people arrested in the operation, there were three Iranian instructors for terrorist actions.

The general 'shock' was not only caused by the fact that such a group could have existed in time of peace and on Muslim territory but that it had been operating in collusion with government officials in Sarajevo.

The State Department stated Friday evening that U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke will demand at the Rome summit this week-end detailed information from Izetbegovic about the affair and its background.

The 'Mojahedin' and Izetbegovic's reluctance to drive them out of Bosnia have been the subject of discussions since January 19, the deadline under the Dayton agreement for the departure of all foreign mercenaries.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher threatened, first over the telephone and then during his recent visit to Sarajevo, to cut off economic and military aid to the Muslim government if it continued to hesitate with the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement.

News commentaries here have pointed out, and the view is shared by the administration, that Izetbegovic had tried to 'play a double game' - with both the United States and with Iran.

The Clinton administration, which is fully committed to putting an end to the war in Bosnia and stabilizing peace in the Balkans, will not allow anyone to bring into question the Dayton peace agreement. That should mean that, in Rome, the participators in the latest problems and tension will be clearly named.

B-H: Serb, IFOR Generals Discuss Officers' Arrest

LD1702104496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0822 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 17 Feb (SRNA) — Major General Zdravko Tolimir said last night after the meeting in Pale with General Michael Walker, Implementation Force [IFOR] ground forces commander, that "the ways to solve the problems caused by the arrest of Gen. Djukic and Colonel Krsmanovic have not yet been agreed upon." "We discussed both the irregularities that occurred in connection with the arrest of Gen. Djukic and Col. Krsmanovic and 25 members of the [Bosnian] Serb army in the separation zone in Sarajevo, and their release," Tolimir said.

He stressed the fact that the Serb officers were "arrested in IFOR's zone of responsibility and were not released after the arrest." "IFOR did not act in the same way when the Muslims arrested in Ilidza and Doboj were released. On the contrary, it took part in transferring Gen. Djukic and Col. Krsmanovic to The Hague before they were indicted."

"We also pointed out the violation of The Hague Tribunal statute as prosecutor Goldstone reached the decision on the arrest of Gen. Djukic and Col. Krsmanovic outside the seat of the tribunal without consultations with the tribunal's council on the decision; also lawyers were not assigned to the arrested officers," Gen. Tolimir said.

In conclusion he said that he hoped "further talks will contribute to the solution of the current problems so that the implementation of the peace agreement can proceed in accordance with its provisions." [passage omitted]

B-H: Krajisnik Ties Cooperation to Release of Officers

LD1902230796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2014 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 Feb (SRNA) — Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the Bosnian Serb Republic, said this evening that the exodus of Sarajevo Serbs is the fault of the international community.

"The forces which want Sarajevo to become another Tehran have won," he said, adding that at the Rome

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summit the international community used the lifting of sanctions against the Serb Republic as a means of coercion.

According to Krajisnik, the summit, which ended with many optimistic statement which were more a reflection of propaganda than of the real state of affairs, did not resolve the problem of Sarajevo because the international community wants the Serbs to leave the town.

Krajisnik warned that an unprecedented scandal — the kidnapping of officers of the Serb Republic Army — was pushed into the background at the Rome summit, but that the Serb side will make any further cooperation with international players conditional upon the release of General Djordje Djukic and Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic.

B-H: IFOR Issues Posters Describing 'War Criminals'

AU1902121496 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 19 (AFP) — A poster with photographs and descriptions of 51 men wanted on Bosnian war crimes charges was issued on Monday by the NATO-led peace Implementation Force (IFOR).

Some 10,000 of the sky blue coloured posters with 17 pictures and 34 thumb-nail descriptions of men indicted by the Hague-based war crimes tribunal are being printed for distribution, IFOR spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Mark Rayner, told reporters.

"They will go down to squad, cookhouse and gate-sentry level and it'll be some means of whereby soldiers can in some way identify a war criminal", Rayner said.

Arranged in alphabetical order, the poster contains a series of passport sized photographs with a description of their age, nationality, body features and current address. The other 34 individuals have only a loose description of their main features.

"It goes somewhere towards showing a soldier how he might identify a war criminal if he comes across one in the course of his normal duty", Rayner said.

The photographs include those of the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, and General Ratko Mladic, the commander-in-chief of the Bosnian Serb army. Controversy over the role of IFOR in apprehending indicted war criminals has dogged the NATO-led force in recent weeks.

IFOR commanders have stressed they will not hunt war criminals. However, under the Dayton accord which gives them the authority but not the obligation to detain those indicted, IFOR officers say their forces will arrest them if they come across them in the course of regular duty.

B-H: IFOR Troops Admit Inability To Recognize Karadzic

AU1602185696 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT 16 Feb 96

[Report by Mark Rice-Oxley]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Checkpoint Alpha One, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 16 (AFP) — Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) troops on the ground in Bosnia would fail to recognise suspected war criminals if they passed through IFOR checkpoints, soldiers said here Friday [16 February].

A handful of U.S. soldiers said they would not spot suspects indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague despite efforts by the court to make soldiers aware of who is being sought and what they look like.

"I couldn't tell a war criminal from a farmer," said Sergeant Quentin Finck, who was manning a checkpoint a few kilometres (miles) south of this major control point in northern Bosnia.

"The only one I would recognise is Arkan," he told AFP, referring to Zeljko Raznjatovic, the maverick Serbian warlord wanted along with 51 other suspects across former Yugoslavia for alleged involvement in wartime atrocities.

Although it is not IFOR's specific responsibility to arrest the war crimes suspects and deliver them for trial to the court in The Hague, the peace force has said it would detain and transfer to the court suspects who come into contact with IFOR troops in the course of their routine duties.

"If they (IFOR troops) see someone whom they recognise and they're in a situation where it's appropriate to apprehend them then they will," U.S. Assistant Defence Secretary John P. White told journalists in Tuzla earlier this week.

But recent reports that Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic had passed unhindered through an IFOR checkpoint raised question marks over whether the peace force was well enough equipped to spot, apprehend and deliver suspects.

And with the prosecution of suspected war criminals a key plank of the Dayton peace accord, and IFOR the most likely conduit for their arrest, the pressure is on

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the force to detain any of the 45 Serbs and seven Croats already indicted.

Yet so far only one of the suspects, Serb Dusko Tadic has been ordered to stand trial. Two other senior Serb officers, General Djorje Djukic and Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic, were extradited to The Hague on Monday.

The Hague court has endeavoured to provide as much information as possible about the suspects, issuing dossiers on each to IFOR commanders, and pledging to update information as soon as it becomes available.

But a spokeswoman at the court in The Hague told AFP Friday that only 16 pictures of suspects had been dished out, raising further doubts about the scope for positive identification of other indictees.

She said pictures of Karadzic and Serb military chief Ratko Mladic had not been included in the information kits.

"It is not necessary to give pictures out in their case," the press office spokeswoman said.

But soldiers on the ground questioned by AFP on Friday disagreed.

"I wouldn't recognise him (Karadzic)," said Specialist Sean Terry. "I've never seen his picture."

"The only suspect we'd recognise is Kevin Holt," said the officer in charge of Chekpoint Alpha One, Lieutenant Matthew Nilson, referring to the former U.S. soldier with Islamic connections thought to be in Bosnia.

Holt, while thought to present a threat to IFOR troops, has not been indicted for suspected involvement in war crimes.

The Hague tribunal has stressed that the onus is on the ex-belligerents to deliver suspects for trial. But Karadzic himself said late last month neither he nor his people would meekly stand aside and permit his arrest, putting the ball firmly back in IFOR's court.

And while IFOR troops have been increasingly vigilant at checkpoints in northern Bosnian in recent weeks, even scrutinising identity papers, the fact that many soldiers would not recognise suspects or their names makes their arrest by IFOR an unlikely contingency.

B-H: Arrangements Made for Evacuating Sarajevo Serbs

LD1902203696 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At this evening's meeting of the operational headquarters for the reception and accommodation of residents of the population of Serb Sarajevo, it was agreed that the evacuation of Sarajevo Serbs should begin at 1200 tomorrow and be completed in the next three days. According to headquarters president Gojko Klickovic, the biggest problem is finding the funds for the transportation of people and their property and deciding the routes to be used.

It is proposed that both military and private vehicles should be mobilized throughout the Serb Republic. It is expected that 14 coaches will arrive in Pale tomorrow morning which will be used for the evacuation of residents of Serb Sarajevo, and the necessary quantities of oil and petrol have been procured. Members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will assist with the evacuation of Sarajevo Serbs and the Ministry of Transportation of the Serb Republic will provide vehicles for clearing the roads. [passage omitted]

It is proposed that the organized exhumation of graves on the territory of Serb Sarajevo should begin this evening. Reburial will take place in the places where the population is settled.

The operational headquarters today finalized the places to which the evacuated residents of the municipalities of Serb Sarajevo will be moved. Mr. Klickovic spoke about this in a statement for Bosnian Serb television:

[Begin Klickovic recording] Our task is to enable all Serbs who want to to leave, to accommodate them in the regions of the municipalities in the eastern part of the Serb Republic, and it is the aim of this headquarters to facilitate this. To this end we agreed this morning precisely who will go where, and the list of municipalities: Bratunac will take the municipality of Hadzici, or rather the residents of that area; Ilijas is going to Srebrenica, Zvornik, Milici, and Brcko; Stari Grad is going to the area of Rudo; Ilidza is going in the direction of Trnovo, Srbinje, and beyond toward Herzegovina; Novo Sarajevo is going to Brcko, because there is somewhat more space in Brcko; and Rajlovac, Vogosca, and Centar are going to Pale, Sokolac, Han Pjesak, Visegrad, Vlasenica, and Rogatica. These are the areas, and we have determined this according to possibilities, because the mayors of these areas have said that they could receive roughly the number of people which matches the numbers wanting to leave the municipalities. [passage omitted] [end recording]

B-H: Ilidza Mayor Blames Krajisnik for Sarajevo Exodus

AU2002125996 Belgrade VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 96 p 5

[Unattributed report on statement by Nedeljko Prstojevic, mayor of Ilidza, for Radio Kragujevac; place and

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date not given: "Krajisnik Is Responsible for the Exodus!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nedeljko Prstojevic, mayor of Ilidza, directly blamed Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the People's Assembly of Serb Republic and head of the staff for implementation of agreement on Sarajevo, for the latest exodus of Serbs. "The responsibility for the exodus of Serbs from Serb Sarajevo lies with the leading man and other members of the staff. The historic responsibility will fall to them," Prstojevic said in the statement for Radio Kragujevac.

Pointing out that "nobody has a right to make 80,000 people homeless," Prstojevic also said that Krajisnik's policy has been unsuccessful even after the Dayton accord, also holding other members of the staff responsible for that.

"That decision is a result of the political and diplomatic activity that failed in Dayton and that has failed here and now as well, at the city and republican level," the mayor of Ilidza claims, adding that one should have agreed with the government of the Muslim-Croat federation on the Law on Amnesty, the way of governing the city of Sarajevo, and the territorial organization of local and city authorities. According to Prstojevic, people expected agreements on and the settlement of all those issues to be reached, and primarily the creation of security conditions for further life in Serb Sarajevo.

"Much could have been achieved. I am familiar with the program for a neutral police force that would satisfy the needs of our people and protect their interests fully. But simply, they did not want to reach an agreement and so, consequently, nothing was done regarding negotiations with the Muslims and the Croats and now the exodus is underway," Prstojevic concludes.

B-H: 'Exodus' of Sarajevo Serbs Gaining Momentum

AU2002133896 Paris AFP in English 1310 GMT 20 Feb 96

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 20 (AFP) — An exodus of Serbs from Sarajevo appeared to be underway Tuesday with dozens of cars and trucks clogging the roads around the city in areas due to revert to the mainly Moslem government's control.

Early Tuesday morning, on the flooded and potholed roads that thread together the Serb-held areas ringing the city, a steady flow of traffic splashed its way to the main routes leading away from the capital.

Since the signing of the Dayton peace accords in December, when it became clear the Serb-held areas would revert to government control, there has been a slow but constant flow of people away from the Serb-held districts. Aid officials estimate that some 15-20,000 people have already left but that some 40-50,000 remained.

However Tuesday, the pace appeared to have picked up following an announcement on official Bosnian Serb television that an organised exodus was being arranged from midday Tuesday.

"It was agreed that the evacuation of Sarajevo Serbs should begin tomorrow at 12:00 a.m. (1100 GMT) and should be completed in the next three days," the television said late Monday.

Aid officials condemned the announcement. "So far, there has been no exodus. This is all part of a campaign of manipulation to get people out and create a psychosis," said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

"We do not want people to leave. There is no reason for them to leave. It doesn't make any sense," he added.

The announcement comes three days before the first government police, formally known as Federation police forces, start patrols in a Serb-held suburb. In an effort to complete the transfer in time for a March 19 deadline, the five Serb-held suburbs earmarked for return will have a phased introduction of Federation police.

In Vogosca, the first Serb-held suburb to receive federation police units this Friday, people queued at the local town hall to fill out forms requesting help in moving.

A Bosnian Serb policeman from the area who declined to give his name said not a single Serb would stay in these areas. "Only those who have married Croats or Moslems and have mixed families. All Serbs will leave. We don't want to live with the Moslems," he said.

Janowski said that an office of the UNHCR would be opening in Vogosca to monitor "possible returns of people ... and possible departures so that we know where people go and how we can help them."

Thousands of non-Serbs chased out of their homes in these areas during the siege of Sarajevo are expected to start returning as the suburbs revert to government control.

Janowski said there were confirmed reports of people being pressured into leaving against their will. "We have always been worried that there will be people interested in driving the Sarajevo population out with them. This is a real danger and would be very very unfortunate."

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However, he said there was little that could be done to stop this. "I don't know how you can stop this. People are afraid to say these things," he said.

In Monday's TV announcement, the head of the organization responsible for the evacuation, Gojko Klickovic, said military and private vehicles were expected to be mobilized throughout the self-styled Bosnian Serb Republic.

A midday radio broadcast said some 20 trucks had left Rogatica for Sarajevo. The town is one those earmarked to accept Serbs leaving the outskirts of the city.

The others where the evacuees would relocate were Bratunac, Srebrenica, Zvornik, Milici, Brcko, Pale, Sokolac, and Visegrad, most of which had a Moslem majority population before the war.

B-H: Sacirbegovic Interviewed on Peace Process

AU1902163996 Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 96 pp 12-18

[Interview with Muhamed Sacirbegovic, former minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Muhamed Demidzic and Fahrudin Memic; in Bled, Slovenia; date not given: "Sacirbegovic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Muhamed Sacirbegovic, until recently minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, last week, before his departure for Davos, visited Bled, where he gave a lecture to law students from all over the world on the current development in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On that occasion, he gladly approved the SVIJET editorial board's request to give an interview to the new magazine "he had not seen yet, but in which he trusted." Previous to that, as we have found out, he had inquired about the orientation of our paper. Our interview, perhaps even because of that, spontaneously began with this subject: What kind of papers and what kind of journalism will there be in the country after the war?

Having commented on our wish to make SVIJET a different kind of paper, because different times were coming, Mr. Sacirbegovic said:

[Sacirbegovic] We have to look for new terms and new phrases which will neither reconcile us with what has happened nor with "that" ideology, but will express a necessity to take some other route than the one like this war. I think that the war is still going on, but it is being made in some new phase. We find that new phase suitable because we are stronger in peace and we will be even stronger in peace precisely due to such projects like your paper. I do not have to agree with what you have written. That is what they call free press in the United States. For example, in LJILJAN they give me some space and they put down everything I said, and then they ask me what that spree at the Ministry [of Foreign Affairs] on New Year's Eve was.

[SVIJET] And was there any spree?

[Sacirbegovic] First of all, there was no spree, but we invited diplomats; as the minister of foreign affairs I invited diplomats, which is a normal New Year's procedure. Nobody said then that it was out of place, and no one present there complained about it. If someone outside wants to suggest something — I cannot help that. Here, the media are free. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] The historical period for Bosnia-Herzegovina is over. You have participated in the negotiations in Dayton and in the majority of other places where the destiny of Bosnia-Herzegovina was carved out. How do you feel, intimately, now, after all this, when you are no longer the foreign minister? Are you satisfied with the results achieved?

[Sacirbegovic] Sincerely, I am very satisfied with the peace. Sincerely, I am not satisfied with the results of that plan. I think we could have achieved a much better outcome for us. I had been afraid for a long time of what happened in Dayton, which is to close us within four walls where everything will be decided. In such situations principles and situations pointed out earlier cease to be valid far away from the general public's eyes. Diplomacy here, really, becomes the same thing as the other "world's oldest profession." I think that we had a better situation when we arrived in Dayton than the one we had when we left Dayton. In my opinion, peace was not reached in Dayton. Peace was on the horizon as early as the NATO intervention in Bosnia and the Split agreement. Dayton only defined its elements; within four walls we have had no advantage. I belonged to the group of those who believed that the job should be continued to be done gradually, the way we have done, for instance, in Geneva.

[SVIJET] But was it not in Geneva where the so-called "Serb Republic" was recognized?

[Sacirbegovic] That was the only, big concession we made and which has made possible everything else going in our favor including also NATO air strikes. Nevertheless, I want to say that as early as a couple of months earlier, in the Contact Group meetings they de facto accepted the existence of the Serb Republic, and called it that way. And what is even worse, at that time they were already talking about the "union of Bosnia-Herzegovina." That means that, in their opinion, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina did not exist, as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. That means that then we were at the lowest point of our political strength.

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The continuity of Bosnia-Herzegovina had not been recognized.

However, that decision on the acceptance of the name of "the Serb Republic" had been discussed at an extended session of the Presidency at which both Mr. Silajdzic and, I think, General Delic were present. I know that the decision to accept that was a unanimous decision. Afterward, I found myself in the most unenviable position, because I had to confirm that decision officially in Geneva. Nevertheless, on the basis of that decision, we made progress. Things developed gradually and we were satisfied because of such a development, as well as in front of the general public. Precisely because of that, I thought that Dayton as a concept, as a way of working within four walls where things break into pieces, was a mistake for us. That was a way of putting pressure.

[SVIJET] Can our admission into the European Union be brought into question by more and more frequent euphoric interpretations and understanding of our relations with the Islamic countries? There are more and more frequent statements that arouse suspicion in the West that we really want to be only a bridge between them and the East.

[Sacirbegovic] Last week an American congressman in Washington, one of my acquaintances, drew my attention to such things in Bosnia. Certainly, I myself am not always satisfied with such cases. As one example the concert organized on the occasion of Ramadan, and its setting, was mentioned. To tell you sincerely, I was offended on that occasion. That was a concert open to everyone, there were many non-Muslims, and the music played there was mostly Western. Meanwhile, it is obvious that there are many prejudices regarding Islam. That means that we too have to be wise and that we should not give any reason to be exposed to any kind of accusations. On the other hand, if we think that we will get into Europe sooner if we identify with them entirely, then we will lose our unique value. And we will lose ourselves, both for us and for them. The importance of Bosnia was not only in that we were the same thing as Amsterdam, Washington, or Paris, but also because Bosnia is Bosnia, and Sarajevo is Sarajevo. In that, we do not have to explain all the advantages and wealth of a common and multiethnic life.

[SVIJET] Is there, in your opinion, any danger of radicalization of religion in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the way that it may jeopardize democratic development of the state in the long term?

[Sacirbegovic] As an American I think that the communist tendencies are more dangerous than the Islamic tendencies. What do I mean by that? In many Islamic organizations today, there are people who have come from the old system. They are looking for a new ideology, but they act in the same old way, by using old methods characteristic of communism. I think that is a great danger. I have a great respect for President Izetbegovic, who had been a great Muslim even before communism, and who, as such, lived throughout the period of communism mainly as a dissident. His roots are in Islam, and their color has no communist period nuances. Saying this, I do not think of communism as an ideology, but as a concept of ruling and governing. Some other people think, on one hand, "eshedu en la i la he illala..." [as published], and on the other hand, let us control everything once again. There are also people who are a bit less turned to Islam, but they are inclined to a certain Western kind of personal dictatorship, inclined to build a personality cult. On the third side, we have still not found the right concept for a multicultural and secular state. For instance, in the United States, religious life is highly respected and many people go to churches, mosques, and synagogues, but it is unthinkable to introduce anything religious into state-owned schools.

We have come from a system in which multiculturalism had been experienced and presented not as a coexistence of religions and nations but as a kind of concept in which everyone is Yugoslav, and everything else is less important. In the United States it is very important that you are not only an American but also something else. Now, the question in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to what extent, let us say, someone can be a Muslim and not jeopardize his own Bosnianship, and vice versa. We in Bosnia-Herzegovina will always be first Bosnians, and if we are not that, in the sense of belonging to our state, then that is a great danger.

Here, not only sometimes is there intolerance among individual religions, but it seems to me sometimes that at a certain level there is even greater intolerance between believers and non-believers. My appraisal is that for us the American system is better than the European. Because of some new feeling toward religion and toward God, a large number of us want to go to the mosque, church, or synagogue, and one has to respect that, but that must not represent a danger for anyone. But, one also has to know that the state and the religion are two separate things.

It would be very dangerous to say that democracy is endangered from one direction, from one side. That danger comes from many sides because only now are we defining what our state is.

[SVIJET] Do you think that Mr. Izetbegovic has had a special role in the definition of these relations?

[Sacirbegovic] I think that we are very lucky we have had Alija Izetbegovic, who was not born in communism

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and who did not want to explain what Islam is, and what it is not. I think he will forgive me if I say that it is also lucky that he is predicting the end of his political career, as well as of his life. He does not establish himself as someone who thinks that in the next 20 years he will be the main person in Bosnian politics. That is healthy, because I think there should be some change.

[SVIJET] Does that mean that, in your opinion, that Izetbegovic will not remain in power after the next elections?

[Sacirbegovic] I think that he will win in the approaching elections, and he will have my support. However, it is likely that afterward there will be new changes. It is good that there are changes from many sides, not only when the point in question is one man.

[SVIJET] There is a lot of talk about the creation of a one-party system in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the name of democracy one such system has been overthrown. Present tendencies are in a total contrast to the proclaimed ideas about a multiparty system and democracy. What is your view of this, both as an American and as an SDA [Party of Democratic Action] member?

[Sacirbegovic] First, I am 100-percent sure that a one-party system is an undemocratic system and we must not allow that this becomes the concept of our political life. On the other hand, it is natural that every party tries to dominate. They have no mechanism of self-control in such cases. Parties are not political institutions which within themselves have a balance, like a state has. What does that mean, in our context? We have rather great liberties, and one should think about them through the fact of the damages inflicted on Bosnia, both the people and the state. We have suffered the most in the whole region, and we are the most democratic country in the very region. It is also known that we have opposition parties and rather big political freedom.

Simultaneously, there are two facts which are objectively against these opposition parties. The first is that the SDA is considered to be the party that succeeded in defending the state. In other countries in the world, too, the parties which liberated the country and the nation remained longest in power. The other problem is Dayton. I was there, and by God, we are not responsible for this other thing I want to say, neither Alija, nor Silajdzic, nor Sacirbegovic, nor Komsic, nor the others. We have fought for some other things.

The West favored the creation of three sides and presenting those three sides through their leading parties, through the SDA, HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], and SDS [Serbian Democratic Party]. So, they have established that concept, and now, allegedly, they protest because of it. We have fought against any ethnic concept which resulted from Dayton. We have always insisted on some kind of ethnic balance. They in the West have done what they have done, and now they are asking themselves why the SDA, HDZ, or possibly the SDS dominate. And they dominate because the peace process has established the concept of ethnic "balance." Parties, of course, take as much power as they can get from the people. The opposition cannot be artificially strengthened, but it is important to make the realization of basic human rights and development of democratic institutions possible. First of all, to strengthen independent media. One should constantly think about the freedom of media. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] I believe you will agree with the fact that your political thinking and the political traditions which you have learned do not reflect our domestic political reality, not even in Sarajevo.

[Sacirbegovic] I admit you are right. Remember that I keep repeating that I am a man close to Alija Izetbegovic and that I would not be so close if he were more different than me. I think that Alija and I and some other people who are close, have found ourselves in an unfamiliar situation. We want democracy, but how can we reach that democracy in a system with two levels of standard? One standard in Sarajevo, and the other one in the whole state. I must tell you that on one hand there are tendencies to say that a mighty SDA is needed to be able to cope with a mighty HDZ or SDS. On the other hand, we do not want to become either a one-party system or a one-party community. I think that it is also important to say that the SDA is not a party of Muslim action but a party of democratic action. If the SDA in the future wants to find the best way of really supporting that what it says it supports, then it must, first of all, support the Bosnians, and then the Bosniaks. The Americans, too, have not defended the United States for the sake of Christianity, but for the sake of Americanship.

[SVIJET] That is true, but you also know that even the most distinguished religious personalities, like the reis-ul-ulema [supreme Muslim religious leader], have been dealing with what one can and cannot do in the state.

[Sacirbegovic] I know what you mean, but it has to be clear that the reis-ul-ulema cannot play the role of a man who defines the political orientations. He can, related to these issues, express his opinion, which can only be his own opinion, the opinion of an individual, or of the reis. But he can in no way suggest that as a party opinion.

[SVIJET] In the context of expressing opinion on the public behavior, there has been much debate recently on the occasion of President Izetbegovic's letter to the

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TV and radio editors in chief. What is your personal opinion about that letter?

[Sacirbegovic] As soon as I read the president's letter about the New Year's program, I clearly told him my opinion. He knows exactly what I think about that move, and I would not want to repeat that now. (laughter)

[SVIJET] It is a public secret that you parted definitely with Mr. Silajdzic a long time ago. It has also been said that this separation was not only political. Can you tell us your opinion about that?

[Sacirbegovic] The rift with Silajdzic started very early. There are rumors that it was so because I wanted his office. However, I could have been now in a very high position, too. Silajdzic has from the very beginning thought that we are competitors both in the media and in the political life. Mr. Silajdzic and I have many things in common, but our concept of political action is different. I think that our political roles have to be limited in order to prevent the personality cult, and Silajdzic has worked a lot precisely on that, particularly recently.

[SVIJET] Was it not one of the theses at the aforementioned session of the SDA Main Board that programs are not important, but the people are, so that one should behave in line with that?

[Sacirbegovic] It is true that people are important, but we should not abuse our political capital, the sympathies of the nation and the world for our own profit. Silajdzic has always asked for a bit more than was feasible. He always wanted to differ, to have his own people whom he would, after all, take along, like Enes Karic and the like. He was also, in Dayton, more concerned about his personal destiny and he was, let us say, more interested in the future competence of the prime minister than in some other, at that time more important, things. Only because of that 11 [ministers] plus one [prime minister], or six plus one, or five plus one, we lost three key links when we were supposed to work on the realization of the economic plans the Europeans had asked from us. It would have been much better for us if we had formed the governments of both the Republic and the Federation a month before we actually did, and I think that Mr. Haris Silajdzic should pull himself together regarding all this, because he knows very well what composition of the government was agreed over in Dayton. There were many more things more important to think about than our personal destiny. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] Do you think that all this will end? What are the chances that Bosnia will really take a peaceful road soon?

[Sacirbegovic] It is hard to say when we will be able to say definitely that the war is over in all its aspects. In the world, regarding us, there is still a double line — the line of politics and the line of justice. As soon as those two lines meet, we can say that the peace has come.

[SVIJET] You are no longer Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign minister. What do you intend to do in the future?

[Sacirbegovic] I was thinking about leaving politics completely, and returning to my job, that is, business. But, that would mean that I have not finished the job I began. It is true that at the moment I am leaving the front line to the second, in which I will probably deal with the implementation of the Dayton agreement. I should also remind you that my office of the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission to the United Nations is still open, which could mean that I am getting back to the office I held before my arrival in Sarajevo.

B-H: Silajdzic Stresses Multicultural Future

AU1902182396 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 Feb 96 p 3

[Interview with former Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Dayton Agreement Has a Tendency Toward Disintegration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER STANDARD] Why have you left the government?

[Silajdzic] There is an apparent tendency toward one-party rule similar to the old system. I realized that some people had taken the habits from war, where only a few, sometimes only one person, made decisions, into to peacetime. Then there is no democracy. However, I believe in a pluralist system. Therefore, there must be a political correction.

[DER STANDARD] The party that you want to create is to be a correction. What is it all about?

[Silajdzic] The objective is completely clear: Bosnia-Herzegovina, undivided and sovereign. What we are seeing now looks like division rather than a unitary and sovereign Bosnia. As far as the (Croat-Bosnian) Federation is concerned, we have two national territories, not cantons.

The Croatian part looks like an extension of Croatia rather than like Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb part rather looks like Serbia. I believe that the nationalization of these territories will result in Bosnia's dissolution. This must not happen, because it would virtually be a reward for aggression. And the Muslims would have to pay the highest price.

[DER STANDARD] Will yours be a Bosnian party or a party for all citizens? [sentence as published]

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[Silajdzic] It will be a party for Bosnia-Herzegovina. That means that everyone who is loyal to Bosnia-Herzegovina can be a member of this party. It is quite natural that the Muslims will be the vast majority. However, if we want a uniform Bosnia-Herzegovina, the party must not exclude anyone.

[DER STANDARD] Can it be said that it will be a party of the left or the right spectrum?

[Silajdzic] No, it is a party of the democratic center, an absolutely center party, which implements what Bosnians want.

[DER STANDARD] Is it still possible to save a multicultural coexistence?

[Silajdzic] The international community must above all insist on joining Bosnia-Herzegovina together, because the Dayton agreement certainly has a tendency toward disintegration. If the borders between the two entities, the Federation and the "Republika Srpska," are reinforced, this has to be interpreted as disintegration, above all because the Federation as such does not yet exist.

I will work for free media and for real democracy. For that purpose and since we have perhaps 10 parties, we need a strong opposition.

[DER STANDARD] Are many awaiting your decision now?

[Silajdzic] It would be very nice to hear that. And it would be a great responsibility. However, the people have to decide themselves and be aware of the consequences. We need a Bosnian Bosnia.

B-H: Bildt Says Half Reconstruction Fund Not Yet Donated

AU1302190596 Paris AFP in English 1832 GMT 13 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Feb 13 (AFP) — From $700 to $800 million more are needed for reconstruction projects in Bosnia this year, Carl Bildt, the civilian chief for peace efforts in the former Yugoslav republic, said Tuesday [13 February].

Bildt told reporters in Brussels that half the $1.6 billion budget for reconstruction was not yet been granted by international donors.

He said that, for instance, $100 million had not been given for urgently needed transport projects. This meant that in certain towns where 100 buses were needed, authorities had to make do with 50 buses.

"I don't think governments are aware of the importance of these shortfalls," Bildt said.

"Civilian and economic reconstruction is certainly not going to be as expensive as the military operation but with far greater importance for the future," Bildt said.

He said he was waiting for precise pledges from donor countries for their next conference, scheduled to be April 12-13 in Brussels under the initiative of the World Bank.

Reconstruction in Bosnia up until the year 1999 is expected to cost five billion dollars.

B-H: World Bank Says No Money Received for Rebuilding

AU1502205496 Paris AFP in English 2034 GMT 15 Feb 96

[Report by by Edina Neretljak]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 15 (AFP) — Bosnia has yet to receive a penny in reconstruction aid despite worldwide promises of abundant financial assistance, the head of the World Bank office here said Thursday [15 February].

"Not a single project has started yet and not a single dollar for the reconstruction has been spent," the official, Ulrich Lachler, told AFP.

At the end of January the World Bank approved a $150 million package for Bosnia, even before the war-ravaged Balkan republic becomes a member of the Bank.

Of that sum, $125 million will be given on concessional terms as a 40-year loan, with the remaining $25 million coming in grants.

But Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic complained Saturday that "not a single million of all those promised millions has arrived in the country yet."

Lachler promised that within a fortnight, a project for the first loan being prepared will be approved. This project is part of a $160 million programme of emergency economic reconstruction of which $45 million would be contributed by the World Bank.

That $45 million is part of the $150 million approved by the bank last month. The remaining $115 million is to come from other donors.

The emergency programme covers farm, power, housing, health, transport, telecommunications, industry and education restoration, as well as mine-clearing and assistance to war-victims.

The World Bank and the European Union estimate the cost of reconstruction in Bosnia through 1999 at $5 billion.

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So far only a fraction of that amount has been pledged. On Wednesday, for instance, a high-level Japanese delegation visiting Sarajevo promised $50 million in aid.

Officials from 50 countries agreed at talks in Brussels in December to pledge $518 million for urgent reconstruction work in Bosnia for the first three months of 1996.

But that just papered over differences among the major powers over how to share out the bill for rebuilding Bosnia over the longer term.

The European Union is pushing for an even three-way division among Europe, the United States, and the rest of the world, mainly Japan and the oil-rich states of the Gulf.

But the United States, arguing that Europe must shoulder most of the burden for a crisis in its own backyard, has placed a 600-million dollar ceiling on its contributions.

An official of the U.S. Agency for International Development said Wednesday that Washington has pieced together a $200 million aid package that it will submit to Congress in the coming weeks.

Officials say the $518 million pledged in December is slow in coming.

Carl Bildt, the top western official in charge of overseeing implementation of the civilians aspects of of the Dayton peace accord, complained Tuesday in Brussels that, for example, $100 million for urgently needed transport projects had not been disbursed.

He said he was waiting for precise pledges from donor countries at the next conference, scheduled for April 12-13 in Brussels under the initiative of the World Bank.

Despite such complaints, Lachler said the whole process was actually going fast enough considering the circumstances.

"In just two months we prepared and approved programmes while in average it takes two to three years to channel funds and prepare projects. So it would be difficult to move faster then we do", he said.

According to the Bosnian government the only project-in-progress is a donation from the EU paid in kind. In the next two weeks, trucks with industrial equipment will start arriving in Bosnia as part of a $78 million EU package created for this purpose.

B-H: Spain's Westendorp Pledges Reconstruction Aid

AU1402165396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 96

[Report by Miralem Kruskic on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic and Spanish Foreign Minister Carlos Westendorp in Sarajevo on 14 February — recorded; Westendorp speaks in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kruskic] At the start of the news conference, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic briefed foreign and local correspondents on the talks with Mr. Carlos Westendorp.

[Prlic] Today we have been exchanging views on the current situation and the implementation of the Dayton agreement, particularly in Mostar and Sarajevo. The Spanish foreign minister stressed the EU's support for Administrator Koschnick in Mostar. We agreed that efforts would have to be made to resolve this situation, which could become a serious obstruction to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a decisive element in the establishment of overall peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A significant part of the talks that the minister had with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Mr. Izetbegovic was dedicated to the organization of the Pledging Conference for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Kingdom of Spain has expressed its readiness to contribute both within the EU and bilaterally.

[Kruskic] The foreign minister of the Kingdom of Spain, which was among the first countries to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, said among other things:

[Westendorp] I have met Minister Prlic, Prime Minister Muratovic, and President Izetbegovic.

[Kruskic] Mr. Westendorp went on to say that the Spanish Government will continue to cooperate with [word indistinct] and that it will continue to provide humanitarian aid to our people. Spain will participate in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is why he had brought with him people responsible for such issues. Contacts have been established with Bosnia-Herzegovina officials over the post-war reconstruction of our country. The international community is ready to assist Bosnia and Spain will be at the forefront of this. Spain supports Bosnia's membership in European institutions and is bilaterally ready to provide financial and cultural [word indistinct].

Mr. Westendorp finally said: I would like to stress once again the friendly links between our two nations.

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B-H: Spain To Double Aid for Bosnian Reconstruction

BR1602073396 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1906 GMT 14 Feb 96

[Unattributed report: "Spain Prepared to Double Aid for Reconstruction of Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb (EFE) — Spanish Foreign Minister Carlos Westendorp arrived today (Wednesday) in Belgrade after announcing in Sarajevo that his government would be prepared to double its aid for the reconstruction of Bosnia, putting it at around $100 million over the next three years.

As part of his tour around the former Yugoslavia Westendorp today visited Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, to meet with Bosnian President Alia Izetbegovic (a Muslim) and Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic, among others.

After these meetings the foreign minister said that, as a demonstration of Spain's support for the peace process, an embassy will be opened in Sarajevo "when the budget resources are made available."

At the same time, from the financial point of view, Spain will endeavor to contribute toward the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This endeavor has two elements: contributions made within the framework of the EU and bilateral contributions made directly to Bosnia.

According to EU estimates, the "fifteen" will contribute $1.7 billion toward reconstruction, of which $45 million will come from Spain, which is now prepared to increase this amount to $100 million over the next three years.

By the same token Spain could grant up to $15 million in low-interest credits, the minister added.

During his talks with the president and prime minister of Bosnia they both suggested to Westendorp that Barcelona should be the site of the conference of donor countries for the reconstruction of Bosnia.

The Spanish foreign minister expressed to the local authorities his willingness to cooperate, although he explained that the most important thing was to successfully pursue contacts so that there would be consensus between the EU, United States, Japan, and the Arab countries.

Meanwhile the delegation of businessmen accompanying the foreign minister on his tour conducted a parallel program in Sarajevo to look into opportunities for winning contracts for projects forming part of the reconstruction of the country.

Led by Apolonio Ruiz Ligero, the state secretary for commerce, the Spanish businessmen met with World Bank representatives in the Bosnian capital to receive information on the funds which may be devoted in coming years to the physical reconstruction of the areas affected by war, as well as the conditions for taking part in these bids.

The priorities for reconstruction are basically electricity, communications, natural gas, water, and transport.

Later each of the businessmen met with Bosnian businessmen active in their respective sectors.

The general impression which the delegation received from the businessmen is that it will be difficult to make rapid progress in the bidding for contracts and in beginning the work due to the fact that no concrete decisions have been made about what projects to carry out, thus preventing them from planning the action to be taken.

Similarly, some of them commented in private that there is a lack of clarity about the funding for the projects. In this respect they suggested to the state secretary for commerce that the government should grant credits on the condition that they are used by Spanish businesses for projects to rebuild Bosnia.

As far as the trade balance is concerned, relations have been thin on the ground in the last few years due to the war, although it is in Spain's favor.

B-H: Japanese Delegation Pledges Aid Development Package

AU1402170696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 96

[Report by Mehmedalija Sisic on the news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic and the Japanese Government's economic cooperation agency delegation led by (?Nori Ahatori), the body's deputy director general, in Sarajevo on 14 February — recorded; (?Ahatori) speaks in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Sisic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic stressed our gratitude and the importance of a rapid reaction displayed by Japanese representatives following the establishment of diplomatic relations.

The delegation had several meetings in Sarajevo. [passage omitted]] Concerning the initial assistance promised to Bosnia-Herzegovina for the first three months of implementation, Japan has pledged $50 million, which is in accordance with the projected participation of this country. We will continue our

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contacts in the coming period, and we expect that Japan will confirm its readiness and follow the examples of other developed countries, particularly the United States, at the Pledging Conference to be held in early April in Brussels, where the overall sum for the assistance in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be determined for the next three years.

The Japanese delegation has understood one thing, and has told us so, and that is that $1 in Bosnia-Herzegovina today is worth more than $3 (?two years ago).

[Sisic] Mr. (?Nori Ahatori), leader of the Japanese Government's economic delegation, said:

[(?Ahatori)] Bosnia-Herzegovina and Japan have been friends for a long time, even though they only established diplomatic relations five days ago.

[Sisic] Mr. (?Ahatori) said that Japan would do everything it can for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its economic assistance. He conveyed the pledge that Japan would prepare an aid package for the Pledging Conference for Bosnia-Herzegovina in Brussels in early April.

This visit and talks have been a part of the preparations for the donors' conference in Brussels. During the series of contacts with the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the World Bank, and other organizations in Sarajevo, we have gathered enough information that will help determine what Bosnia-Herzegovina needs. Japan will create an aid package based on that, which it will present at Brussels. My assessment, Mr. (?Ahatori) stressed, is that Bosnia-Herzegovina needs assistance at two levels: First, there are urgent needs of the country and the people, and second, there are medium-term needs that will accompany the reconstruction of the country. I promise that Japan will help in both of these, and I am convinced that it can enter some contracts even before the conference in Brussels.

B-H: Russians To Help Serb Reconstruction in Bosnia

LD1502212996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 15 Feb (SRNA) — A delegation of the Serb Republic Government held talks in Pale today with a delegation of the Russian Ministry for Emergencies. They discussed the reconstruction and development of the Serb Republic.

The opening of a bureau of the Russian Ministry for Civil Defense, Emergencies, and Natural Disasters in the Serb Republic has been announced in order to collect detailed reports on the situation in the field.

It was stressed that the UNHCR's mediation in sending Russian humanitarian aid to the Serb Republic will become unnecessary once the bureau is opened.

At the meeting today it was reported that the damage caused during NATO's aggression against the Serb Republic amounts to about $5 billion. It was decided to draw up a list of priorities for rebuilding and reconstructing destroyed facilities in the republic.

The guests from Russia promised to deliver the necessary technical equipment and resources. [passage omitted]

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Croatia: Tudjman Comments on Progress of Bosnia Summit

LD1802145896 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Franjo Tudjman has returned to Zagreb from Rome where the meeting on the implementation of the Dayton agreement is still under way. Upon his arrival the president made a statement for the press. Vera Tomasek reports.

[Tomasek] Asked whether the basic problems, especially those connected with Mostar and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, have been solved in Rome, President Tudjman said:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Progress has certainly been made in the sense that we removed some misunderstandings and even crisis situations created by those in European circles who want to discredit the Dayton agreement, and hence the implementation and life of the federation. But I think that during the talks yesterday and today we eliminated to a large extent [does not say what], and that statements will show that progress has been achieved. [end recording]

[Tomasek] Defense Minister Gojko Susak returned to Zagreb from Rome with President Tudjman. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Tudjman Calls Rome Meeting 'Step Forward'

AU1802152396 Paris AFP in English 1350 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb 18 (AFP)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman returned to Zagreb Sunday [18 February] saying the Rome summit on Bosnia-Herzegovina had been "a step forward" in overcoming misunderstandings concerning the Dayton peace accord.

"A step forward was made to clear up the misunderstandings and crisis situations created by certain European circles that want to compromise the Dayton peace accord and the functioning of the (Moslem-Croat) federation," Tudjman told reporters at the airport Sunday afternoon.

Implementation of civilian aspects of the accord stumbled in the southern town of Mostar after the Croat side rejected a European Union plan to reunify the city, which remains divided between Croats and Moslems.

The Rome meeting Saturday and Sunday among the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian presidents as well as the enlarged "contact group" on Bosnia-Herzegovina was called to reaffirm the peace accords.

Croatia: FM Granic Says Rome Meeting Complete Success

LD1802234996 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, returned to Zagreb this evening. He told journalists that the two-day meeting in Rome was a complete success. At Zagreb airport, Granic said that an honorable and compromise agreement had been reached on Mostar aimed at consolidating the federation, Bosniak-Croat cooperation, and the Dayton Agreement. Our reporter Drazen Korda reports from Zagreb airport:

[Korda] As a step forward in implementing the Dayton Agreement, the Rome meeting is important for both the Republic of Croatia and the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina since, in addition to the honorable solution for Mostar, an agreement was also reached on the cantonal borders in the federation in line with the Vienna Accords, Minister Granic said and continued:

[Begin Granic recording] A number of agreements were reached. The agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and several of its important points: Sarajevo, POW's, cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia, and cooperation with The Hague tribunal, and the agreement on the federation with precise dates for various moves for which the federation government will be responsible. The agreement on refugees and their return to their homes is of special importance to us in the towns of Bugojno and some other well-known towns. Within this framework we reached an agreement on cantonal borders and an agreement on Mostar where the central zone has been reduced at the expense of residential buildings that have been moved out. The central zone will exclusively house cantonal and town ministries.

We have agreed on the complete freedom of movement throughout the federation in line with the Dayton Agreement, the freedom of political activity and religious rites. An agreement was also reached on the course of events to begin on 20 February.

We also attach importance to the talks between Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic and their joint statement that the process of normalizing relations will be speeded up. [end recording]

[Korda] According to Granic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milutinovic's visit to Zagreb at the end of this month will mark the resumption of the process of normalization of Croat-Serb relations, which is expected to culminate in mutual recognition. The successful outcome of the

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Rome meeting is important for Croatia as it will speed up its integration into Europe, Dr. Mate Granic said.

Croatia: Susak Pleased With Cooperation With U.S.

LD1602201896 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the end of his official visit to the U.S. which lasted several days, Defense Minister Gojko Susak had another meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry. Jozo Curic reports from Washington.

[Curic] Minister Susak returned to Washington from a tour of the military bases Fort Benning and Fort Levenworth where he visited several centers for the education and training of soldiers and officers. At a reception in the Croatian Embassy in Washington, the minister had another meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry. The 68-year-old mathematician is not a frequent guest at diplomatic receptions. Minister Susak informed Secretary Perry about possibilities for cooperation between the two armies, which the Croatian military delegation observed during its visits to the military bases. [passage omitted]

[Begin Susak recording] Yesterday and today I visited the two biggest U.S. military bases for the training of infantry. We agreed on training exchanges, an exchange of experience, and overall cooperation when the embargo is lifted. This is an important day for us. This evening we will complete talks and move on tomorrow. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Croatia: Defense Minister Susak Interviewed by CNN

LD1802223596 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 17 Feb 96

["Excerpts" of CNN interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by unidentified CNN correspondent in Washington on 17 February; from the "Picture vs. Picture" program—recorded; in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] There are bad memories of the events in the past three or four years in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. There are people who believe that when the military forces leave Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia will move back into the area and divide what has been left of Bosnia and that everything will be forgotten. What do you think about that?

[Susak] The international community—regardless whether we speak about the EU, the United Nations, or NATO—has a set policy on this and all the sides (?are preaching) the same thing. I think it would be foolish if the Croatian or Serbian leaderships did something that is against the international community's demands, while at the same time expecting to become full members of the international community and enjoy the advantages of such a position.

[Correspondent] Not even after the departure of the military forces?

[Susak] It is not going to be in the interest of Croatia and Serbia to fool around with it. In fact, I can only speak on behalf of Croatia because I know our policy.

The Hague is demanding the extradition of six Croats. They are from Bosnia-Herzegovina, but according to the Croatian Constitution, all Croats—regardless if they are in Croatia or somewhere else—have the right to Croatian citizenship. The Croatian Constitution does not recognize the extradition of Croatian citizens. We have to pass a constitutional law or amendment to the Constitution that will allow us to do so. The Croatian Government has passed a law and sent it to the parliament, which is in session now. When the law is approved, Croatia will be able to cooperate fully. President Tudjman has said that this will leave us enough time.

[Correspondent] As defense minister will you support and advise your subordinates to act in line with the extradition when the law is approved?

[Susak] This is up to my government. As defense minister I can only do what the government requests from me. Otherwise, I would not be a defense minister. This is the same throughout the world, Croatia included.

[Correspondent] I want to bring you back to the early days of the war. This is not a pleasant topic to discuss. Reports say that in the early days of the war Croatia took part in what would later be known as ethnic cleansing. It took part in the removal of Serbs in parts of the former Yugoslavia. You were the defense minister at that time. You allegedly issued orders for these things to be done. Are you ready—once the law is approved—to review your own actions?

[Susak] I cannot issue orders but I have to assume responsibility. I cannot issue orders to the Army because the defense minister is a civilian—the same as in the United States. I do not believe that Secretary of Defense William Perry issues orders. Either Shalikashvili or the president of the state, as the supreme commander, does that. The same happens in Croatia. Despite everything, I am not eschewing responsibility for what happened. If the tribunal in the Hague requests that I appear there, I will do it. They will not have to send a summons to the Croatian Government.

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[Correspondent] If the war crimes tribunal in The Hague asks for your testimony ....

[Susak, interrupting] I will volunteer.

[Correspondent] You will volunteer and go and discuss those early days of the war? We have seen pictures, all of us, in the last few weeks, of the unearthing of many, many graves all around Bosnia. Among them, however, many had been in the Krajina area, the places where your government forces were operating in the beginning. Is there something you can do as the civilian leader of the government in Croatia to ensure that whoever perpetrated those atrocities will be brought to justice?

[Susak] I think we are on the right track already. We have a number of people under investigation who are suspected of committing the crimes you are talking about.

[Correspondent] You are investigating them within your own government?

[Susak] Yes.

[Correspondent] Would you turn them over to the Hague tribunal?

[Susak] Yes, if there was a request for it.

[Correspondent] Would you turn over information to the Hague tribunal as well?

[Susak] There are already the six Croats I talked about, without even passing the constitutional law. The Croatian Government is open. Prosecutor Goldstone was in Zagreb. They can already interrogate the six people they want in Croatia, before we pass a law so that we can extradite them.

[Correspondent] Talking about the territory, the area of eastern Slavonia is still in dispute between Serbia and Croatia. It is not settled by the Dayton accords although they provide the method of settlement through negotiations. In your view are these negotiations proceeding quickly enough?

[Susak] Although the United States says that the Dayton agreement does not solve it, I think it does solve it in a way. It was a commitment of the United States that they will help Croatia—through the United Nations and other means—to bring the last part—the 4.5 percent—of Croatia that is still occupied by the Serbs within the legal system of Croatia. Everything that we have agreed on in Dayton, everything that the United States promised, they have fulfilled so far. We have only reason for optimism that we will not have to undertake military action to go there. General Klein is already in place. He is achieving great progress. The United Nations has decided on the number of troops. They are still gathering; they are not all there. We had been hoping for that process to be a bit faster, but we understand the way the United Nations is working. We have to be patient.

[Correspondent] The people of that region at one time, four years ago, were mostly Croatian. Now there are mostly Serb. In fact, I think it is a fair statement to say that most of the Croatians who have at one time lived in that region are either dead or missing; certainly a great majority of them. What will happen when that territory is returned to Croatia? Will the Serbs be able to live there in peace and harmony with the rest of the population?

[Susak] All the Serbs that lived there before the war and have not committed war crimes will be able to enjoy the full rights of Croatian citizenship as if they had lived in the capital of Croatia, Zagreb. That is our commitment to the international community, and we will be open to inspection and monitoring by the international community of their human rights and all the privileges the citizens have. However, the ones who have committed crimes—I do not think they will wait for the Croatian legal system to come there, anyway. As to the number of Croats that lived there, no, most of them are not dead. There were 100,000 people there. Most of them will return.

[Correspondent] You think they will return?

[Susak] Yes, especially the people from Vukovar.

[Correspondent] Will Vukovar once again be a predominantly Croat town?

[Susak] Vukovar will be a mixed city, I hope. Because Vukovar had not only Serbs and Croats. There was a Hungarian minority that was a third of the population. They are waiting to return too.

Croatia: FM Comments on 16 Feb Talks in Sarajevo

LD1602195596 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Feb 96

[Remarks by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic in Zagreb on his return from talks in Sarajevo on 16 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The aim of this visit was to speed up the process of implementing the Dayton agreement, especially of solving some unsolved issues or removing obstacles in solving some issues. At the moment, this refers to the process of agreeing on the borders of cantons and the problem of Mostar, but the federation on the whole was also discussed, as well

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as cooperation by the Federation and [the Republic of] Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Republic of Croatia.

It was confirmed that a meeting will be held on 26 February in Ploce between the governments of the federation and [the Republic of] Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Republic of Croatia. Several agreements will be signed at that meeting.

It was agreed that all processes of implementing the Dayton agreement at the level of the federation will be speeded up, which means complete freedom of movement, and of religious and political life; not only in Mostar, but also in Bugojno, Vares, Travnik, Stolac, and so on. As for Mostar, the Bosniak side supports Mr. Koschnick's decision, but dialogue has been established. The speed with which the problem of Mostar is solved will certainly depend on the speed with which all problems at the level of the federation are solved. I would like to say that this is the fundamental result of these talks.

The talks will continue in Rome tomorrow, especially between President Izetbegovic and President Tudjman.

Croatia: Susak Says War Criminals May Be Extradited

LD1702133496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tihomir Vinkovic reports from Washington on Defense Minister Susak's official five-day visit to this city:

[Vinkovic] [passage omitted] The media have shown a great deal of interest in the visit of Minister Susak, especially in his news conference at the National Press Club. Minister Susak expressed the hope that the U.S. resolve concerning the operation for the peaceful reintegration [of eastern Slavonia] would result in success. General Klein made himself quite clear when he said the mission must be accomplished and that the process of demilitarization will begin in the near future with the deployment of UN forces.

Peace mediators have been conveying positive signs from Belgrade that Serbia would cooperate in the direction of reintegration, Minister Susak said.

He also said that a solution for the problem of Mostar must be found in a joint proposal that would satisfy both Croats and Bosniaks. When a correspondent said it seemed to him that Susak was more optimistic than German Minister Kinkel, Susak said he was more familiar with the situation and, therefore, optimistic.

War criminals must be tried and the Croatian side will make it possible for the accused to be tried by changing its law on extradition.

When asked about the status of Prevlaka, Susak said that President Tudjman had proposed the demilitarization of the peninsula. Milosevic's earlier proposal that Croatia should give Prevlaka in exchange for part of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory was unacceptable, because Milosevic had no right to trade with foreign territories.

Minister Susak reiterated that Croatia was the most constructive party in the Dayton peace process and that it remained consistent to implement the agreement. The Rome meeting will show whether the other participants see this in the same way.

Croatia: Zagreb To Hand Over Two War Crime Suspects

LD1602235396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2342 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 16 (TANJUG)—Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak said on Friday that his country would hand over two war crimes suspects to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

Gen. Tihomir Blaskic, now an inspector in the Croatian Army, and Dario Kordic, the former head of the [word indistinct] political party in Bosnia, will be extradited as soon as the law prohibiting extradition of Croatian citizens is annulled in parliament, he said.

Speaking at a press conference in Washington, Susak said that Croatia's parliament would annul the law in a matter of weeks, the AP news agency reported.

Blaskic, who was a Bosnian Croat military commander, and Kordic have been indicted for involvement in the massacre of 120 Muslim civilians in the village of Amici in central Bosnia in 1993.

Croatian authorities have so far avoided extraditing the two, demanding that they remain free during the trials and, if found guilty, be allowed to serve their sentences in Croatia.

AP said that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman earned international condemnation last November when he promoted Blaskic several days after he had been indicted.

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Croatia: UN War Crime Evidence Against Croatia Reported

LD1602133096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 16 Feb 96

["Pool" item by Davor Lukac]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—A report has been published on Croatian crimes against Serbs in the town of Gospic, one of the most cruel massacres in the war in the former Yugoslavia, and thus Croatia's involvement in war crimes aws confirmed once again.

The Croatian weekly FERAL TRIBUNE published a December 1991 report by the Croatian Service for the Protection of the Constitution, after a delay of four years. The report confirms statements by Gospic Serbs on cruel crimes perpetrated by Croats in that town in the region of Lika.

The report also corroborated evidence collected in March 1991 by the Veritas Information Centre of the Krajina Serbs. Veritas submitted evidence on the Gospic case to investigators of the U.N. tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia during their visit to Knin.

Similarly to actions performed by Argentine or Chilean military juntas, about 150 prominent Serbs were abducted from their homes in the night of Oct. 16, 1991, before the very eyes of their families and neighbours.

Their fate is unknown, but 24 charred bodies were found on the line of separation between Croatian and Krajina Serb forces near Gospic on Dec. 25, 1991.

Croat Tihomir Oreskovic, who was number two man in the local government in Lika, conducted the arrest and liquidation operation. The perpetrators were local Croats and members of the croatian task force, led by Tomislav Mercep.

Mercep is now a top-level official of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union and member of Croatian parliament.

A forensic medicine team, led by Belgrade pathologist Zoran Stankovic, identified 19 of the 24 discovered bodies.

Stankovic said that the bodies were massacred, that some of the victims had been stabbed in the neck, their skulls had been smashed and they had bullet holes in the neck. The perpetrators piled up the bodies and set them on fire after pouring inflammable liquid on them.

A number of witnesses of this bloody autumn in Gospic said that the missing Serbs had been on a list drawn by a woman living in Gospic and who was now honored as a prominent participant in the 'War for the Fatherland.'

The families of the missing Serbs had in vain tried to obtain information on their fate from Croatian institutions, as their questions fell on deaf ears.

When reports on the Gospic crime reached prominent papers such as THE NEW YORK TIMES, then U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmerman visited Croatia and told Croatian authorities that his country maintained an investigation should be launched and that Zagreb's compliance would be a condition for recognizing Croatia.

An investigation was indeed launched but only formally. Croatian authorities officially announced that the secretary of the crisis centre, Tihomir Oreskovic, had been arrested. However, then Croatian Interior Minister Ivan Vekic announced the release of Oreskovic four days later by explaining this had been ordered by top-level Croatian authorities.

The Zagreb papers ARKZIN and SLOBODNI TJEDNIK also wrote on the Gospic case. Both papers published a list of 76 Serbs known to have been murdered.

Veritas handed over the evidence on these crimes to the U.N. war crimes tribunal a year ago but the tribunal has not officially reacted or indicted the perpetrators of the Gospic massacre.

Croatia: Tudjman Meets With Vojvodina Delegation

LD1602202796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1759 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb. 16 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, meeting on Friday with a Croat party delegation from Serbia's province of Vojvodina, said he hoped for 'successful settling of the question of Croat minority in Vojvodina.'

The question should be settled as part of the overall process of normalization of Serbian-Croatian relations, a statement released from the presidential cabinet quoted Tudjman as saying in talks with the delegation of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats.

The delegation was also received by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and Parliament Speaker Vlatko Pavletic, the statement said.

Croatia: RSK Leader Claims Serbs Imprisoned in Split

LD1702161396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 17 Feb (SRNA)—The crisis headquarters at the office of Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK,

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in Croatia], sent a letter today to IFOR [Implementation Force] commander Admiral Leighton Smith, demanding that several thousand prisoners of war be released from prisons in Croatia and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, in line with the Dayton agreement.

The letter warns that unless the prisons are opened up, the problem of imprisoned Serbs and their families will not be solved, and those who violate the peace agreement will have to take the responsibility for the failure to implement it.

The crisis hq said that only six Serb prisoners are registered in the prisons in Mostar, but that the real figure is much higher. The situation is similar in the prisons in Bihac, Sanski Most, Travnik, Zenica, and Tuzla.

The opening of the big prison at the Lora naval base in Split is a special issue. According to information available to the crisis hq, several hundred members of the RSK army and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic army are held there. [passage omitted]

Croatia: CE Delegates Discuss Plans To Open Bureau

AU1702181396 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Borislav Drzajic, president of the Srem-Baranja Region Executive Council, met with a Council of Europe [CE] delegation led by (Michael Cluggicker) today. Bogdan Rahman has the details:

Viewing the possibilities for opening a Council of Europe bureau in the Srem-Baranja Region was the main reason for the visit to Vukovar by (Michael Cluggicker), representative of the Council of Europe.

Borislav Drzajic, the host and president of the Srem Baranja Region Executive Council, briefed the guest on the situation before and after the Erdut agreement. Drzajic pointed out that the Srem-Baranja Region is already multiethnic—something upon which the progressive world has been insisting—because living in the region along with the Serbs are also representatives of other ethnic communities. What is also specific for the region is the fact that the 200,000 people that are currently living in the region include a large number of expellees from western parts of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatian urban centers, from which they had been expelled even though there was no fighting there.

Under the present conditions and the Croatian Government's methods, their return is almost impossible, Drzajic went on to say, replying to the guest's question of whether the expelled Serbs will be returning to their homes soon.

The representative of the Council of Europe pointed out that a great help in solving this and many other questions and problems of the Srem-Baranja Region will be to open a branch of the Osijek office of the Council of Europe in Vukovar.

During the talks, Drzajic also pointed out that the region is open for the return of the people who have left it, something which is also precisely included in the agreement and guaranteed by the forces of the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for East Slavonia]. At the same time, he asked the Council of Europe who guarantees safe return to the Serbs to the western parts of Krajina and urban Croatian centers from which they were being expelled since 1991.

Croatia: Oppositionist Accuses Tudjman of Dictatorship

LD1802200296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1706 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb 18 (TANJUG)—An opposition leader in Croatia said in Zagreb on Sunday [18 February] that President Franjo Tudjman's open letter to the opposition was tantamount to a declaration of dictatorship.

Drazen Budisa, who heads Croatia's biggest opposition Social Liberal Party, told the party's congress that the letter proved that Tudjman discounted the results of last year's local elections in Zagreb which the opposition had won overwhelmingly.

The letter, which accused the opposition of destabilising the government and undermining the constitutional system, was a political pamphlet of a man who has lost touch with political reality to the detriment of democracy in Croatia and Zagreb, Budisa said.

Tudjman's rejection of a mayor from among the opposition's ranks has become the laughing-stock of the nation, which is mocked in the world for the comical interpretation of democracy by the ruling party and President Tudjman, Budisa said.

An opposition coalition won 65 percent of the votes in last year's elections for the Zagreb City Council, far outstripping the ruling Croatian Democratic Union.

Croatia: New Leadership of HSLS Elected

LD1802203496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vlado Gotovac is the new president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS].

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This decision was made by the 6th HSLS Electoral Assembly. Snjezana Kralj reports:

[Kralj] Addressing the assembly, the new HSLS president, Vlado Gotovac, spoke about the situation in the country and the problems facing it. He singled out the economic problem [passage indistinct] ...the HSLS will work on the issue of Croatia's future and went on to stress:

[Begin Gotovac recording] No single issue facing Croatia today can be described as simple to resolve. There is no program that at the present moment can guarantee a rapid and comprehensive recovery in Croatia. All issues facing us are equally difficult and fateful. [end recording]

[Kralj] Gotovac also spoke about the role of the Catholic Church.

[Begin Gotovac recording] The Church must be there to help along with not just my private idea or yours or anyone else's; it must help this nation to extricate itself from this tragic situation in which the immoral has become acceptable and normal. [end recording]

[Kralj] In conclusion, the new HSLS president stressed the need for a joint political effort if the party was to emerge from the opposition. He said the HSLS favored dialogue that it saw as the future for the world.

In addition to the election of Vlado Gotovac to the post of the HSLS president, the 6th assembly also elected the party's entire new leadership. By majority vote, Karl Gorinsek was elected HSLS general secretary; Goran Granic, Jozo Rades, Ivo Skrabalo, and Zlatko Kramaric were elected HSLS vice presidents.

During the second day of the electoral assembly about 500 HSLS delegates endorsed changes to the party's statute and a resolution noting the party's discontent over the lack of democracy and social justice in the country.

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FYROM: Gligorov Meets Greek Liaison Office Official

LD1902212596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], today received Alexandros Malias, head of the Greek liaison office in Skopje, the office of the president has announced.

Gligorov positively assessed the development of cooperation between the two countries following the signing of a provisional agreement on the normalization of relations, and expressed the belief that this will be even more successful in the future.

The statement says, "it was jointly assessed that the two countries have a clear European orientation and affiliation, and that this opens fresh possibilities both for mutual and wider cooperation and security in the Balkans."

FYROM: Restitution of Jewish Property, Alkaloid Case

96BA0118B Skopje VECER in Macedonian 28 Dec 95 p 8

[Article by P. Dimitrovski: "'Alkaloid' On Jewish Property"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Alkaloid Factory was built on a section of a field once owned by the Mizrahi family; the garages of the Skopje JSP [Public Transport Enterprise] were built on a section of the land owned by that family.*

My father did not speak a great deal about the nationalization, nor did he display any kind of malice because of the nationalization, said Viktor, the son of the recently deceased Samoil Mizrahi.

The tragic deportation of the Jews from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is the main determinant of the subsequent fate of their properties. The purpose of the plunders and manipulations during the war, split on the basis of a variety of criteria, nationalized, confiscated, or else "statified" after the surviving Jewish families left in most cases for Israel, is the reason why ownership rights were switched to a different track.

Currently, the law on denationalization and its content are the subject of interest on the part of the Jewish community in Macedonia and the small number of Jewish families or their direct heirs who have continued to live here, and, to a certain extent, those who resettled and whose departure and loss of citizenship was viewed as surrender of their ownership rights.

Heritage Decision

Old Skopje residents probably remember well the Mizrahi family, a family with a long tradition and one of the wealthier families in the city. Viktor Mizrahi is one of its heirs. He is an interesting interlocutor, perfectly familiar with his family roots. On the basis of accidentally acquired information, he claims that the first mention of the Mizrahi name was in Bitola, sometime in the years 1530-40, at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

Briefly stated, the ancestors of the Mizrahi family were three brothers: Juda, Mercado, and Arhamin whose descendent is Viktor. The family lived and worked in Skopje and was engaged in commerce. It even had its own tavern, and one of the brothers engaged in farming, especially the purchasing and marketing of opium. As a result of all this, the family owned relatively extensive property in Skopje, in land, houses, and shops, and lived in the Jewish district, by the old theater.

"Our older fellow citizens, especially those living in the Krnjevo District, know and remember Samoil Mizrahi, my father, particularly those who worked on his land in Keramidnica and along the Kumanovo Road," Viktor Mizrahi says. During the time of the familiar events of the holocaust in May 1943, virtually the entire Mizrahi family, some 50 of its members, were sent to Treblinka in Poland, in which not a single member survived, except for a few young people who had already left Skopje before those events.

One of them was Samoil Mizrahi, who left for Albania where he joined the Albanian partisans. He was captured and sent to the old prison in Tirana and in 1944, after the Italian capitulation, he rejoined the partisans. He was wounded at Zvornik na Dirna, after which he returned to Skopje sometime in February-March 1945.

"In March 1947, the heirs to the Mizrahi family issued an inheritance resolution, according to which my father was one of the heirs," stresses Viktor Mizrahi. "The value of the inherited property, according to the then estimates of the state commission amounted to 718,000 denars. Following the nationalization law of 1948-49 and 1951, the property was nationalized. I cannot discuss the details and the methods of its confiscation, for I have no information and I was not a contemporary to the event. I do not believe that it was done such as to harm human dignity. The truth, however, is that the property was confiscated."

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A Long List

The inheritance resolution includes a list of several properties: a house with a tavern in Skopje, at [Numbers] 19 and 17, 85th Street; a vacant lot at Number 13, 86th Street, totaling 120 square meters; houses at Number 12, 108th Street and Number 50, 106th Street (currently stores in the Old Market), a vacant lot in Taftalivze, 9,000 square meters; another house in Skopje, at Number 5, 309th Street; and a field along the path to Kumanovo. On the latter, Viktor Mizrahi says, one part of it was used to build the Alkaloid Factory, and another the garages of the Skopje JSP. The list of the property includes three hectares of land between the Postenski Garages and Mal Odmor.

At the start of privatization, the Mizrahi family appealed to the Agency for the Privatization of Enterprises with Public Capital. Its answer was to wait for the denationalization law.

"My father, Samoil Mizrahi, who died less than a month ago," Viktor states, "did not speak a great deal about the nationalization, nor did he display any malice because of it. Probably during the war, having lost all of his closest relatives and his family, he cared little for the property we owned and which should be restored to us." In conclusion, Mizrahi pointed out that today much is being politicized in the media in relation to denationalization. In his view, this is a legal act which would correct something done in the past.

"I do not wish to attack nor defend the nationalization. It probably had its economic justification," Viktor Mizrahi stresses. "I expect, like anyone else, that as a result of the denationalization some of the property will be returned, if possible, or that compensation be paid, naturally, unless the law calls for returning the property to the former owners. It is expected that in order to meet some of the requirements related to some parcels of land, I believe that the denationalization will mark the start of a huge court trial. This would be unseemly."

The Mizrahi family has good reasons to wait for the law on denationalization. The documents or perhaps the entire file are available, and so is the required patience.

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Poland: Columnist Stresses Importance of Holbrooke Visit

WS2002104996 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 16 Feb 96 p 5

[Article by Krzysztof Piesiewicz: "Polish White Borsch"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The second visit much talked about this week was the unexpected landing of Richard Holbrooke in Warsaw. Richard Holbrooke is an important official in the Washington administration. He deals with foreign affairs, particularly with countries of Central and East Europe. As far as I know, he was not in Davos because he was then visiting Bosnia. From the very beginning, I had the impression that the U.S. visitor's trip to Warsaw was important; this was because the visit took place at an important and particular moment for Poland. I sometimes think that the public does not fully grasp what is going on. Here and now, the foundations of a new European system are taking shape. New economic and security structures are coming into existence. A new Europe is being created. Dangerous processes are taking place in Poland. We are being observed. And not only are politicians under observation. Our behavior and real aspirations, as well as our readiness to make certain decisions, are studied, too. Nobody wants to force us into accepting proposals. We are given the right to choose political and economic options and, what is important, a geopolitical one. The situation is serious. Our choice will be assessed. This year, NATO member countries are to decide about our admission to the structures of this organization. Richard Holbrooke's visit occurred at this very time. The visit was inconspicuous and of a working nature. There were no long-legged Polish girls, no tucking in of napkins, no white borsch, no showman. The U.S. visitor made short, diplomatic statements. His meetings were clearly planned and determined. The same can be said about the lack of meetings with some politicians.

However, let us return to statements made by the visitor. The United States does not interfere in Poland's domestic affairs. The crisis in Poland should be cleared and settled by democratic mechanisms. Answering a question about whether THE WASHINGTON POST information about the infiltration of Poland by an intelligence service of one of the great powers was true, the visitor said that the United States does not interfere in Poland's domestic affairs and that democratic mechanisms should clear all Polish matters. It is we, the Poles, who should clearly answer the following questions: What kind of Poland do we want? What security structure? What political system? In other words, do we really want a new Europe?!

Our visitor was busy. He stopped in Warsaw because he deemed the moment was important for us and for Europe. Let us not forget that Poland's time and chances are already ticking away. [passage]

Poland: Kwasniewski Comments on NATO, Concordat

LD1702121996 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President Aleksander Kwasniewski thinks none of the candidates for the post of Russian president will publicly speak in favor of the possibility of NATO expansion to the east. President Aleksander Kwasniewski presented this view today at a news conference that ended his official visit to Hungary.

After yesterday's talks with Hungarian politicians, President Kwasniewski said Warsaw and Budapest were interested in the expansion of the European security system, but not one that would be aimed against Russia.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] Mr. Horn [Hungarian president] and I are realists. Presidential elections in Russia are in June, and it would be difficult to expect that any of the candidates would want to build his campaign by giving his consent to NATO enlargement. On the other hand, the key factor is to start a dialogue after the elections in Russia regarding the construction of a European security system that would be based on the NATO system and that would not raise those conventional fears in Russia. [end recording]

President Aleksander Kwasniewski also said at the news conference that unless new elements regarding the Concordat appeared, the vote on it in the Sejm might not be in its favor. This is proved by the way the voting has gone so far in our parliament.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] In my opinion, all of the ballots we have had so far on the Concordat issue show that the majority are against the Concordat rather than for it. This constitutes a basis for me to say that, unless there are new facts or a new quality appears, the voting may not be in favor of the ratification of the Concordat. That is why discussions we have had focused on what should be done to dispel the doubts connected with the Concordat and thus convince those who remain undecided or doubtful to vote differently. [end recording]

President Aleksander Kwasniewski has already returned from Budapest to Warsaw.

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Poland: Cimoszewicz 'Not Surprised' by Yeltsin NATO Remarks

LD2002105096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0912 GMT 20 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Feb (PAP)—Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz said before the government meeting on 20 February that he was not surprised by Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement at his meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Moscow. Yeltsin repeated yet again that he opposed NATO expansion. President Yeltsin just reiterated the position he had held so far, so we are not surprised, the prime minister said.

When it comes to Kohl's attitude, Cimoszewicz pointed out "the chancellor's unequivocal will" to expand the pact. "It does not come as a surprise to us that NATO will not make its decision within a period of a few months, but we expect that such a decision will be made by the pact's ministerial council in December of this year," the prime minister stressed.

Poland: Cimoszewicz Cited on Security Post, Concordat, EU

LD1902160396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1433 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 19 Feb (PAP)—Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz said at his first news conference today that issues related to Poland's integration into the European structures will be a priority for his government. He spoke in favor of resolving the issue of the Concordat in a "sensible" way. He also said that the possible low turnout at the Sunday referendums could be, according to the prime minister, a result of the attempt to politicize them.

Cimoszewicz did not want to comment on the candidacy of [former Justice Minister] Jerzy Jaskiernia for the post of Poland's ambassador to Canada. "Officially there has been no such candidacy, so there is no need to comment on it," he said. He pointed out that it is "unfortunate" that such reports appeared because it is against the rules of diplomacy: First one should find out the opinion of the candidate in the country he is to be sent to.

The prime minister has not yet made a decision on the matter of the resignation request submitted by the State Protection Office head [Gromoslaw Czempinski]. He added that he wants to speak to Gromoslaw Czempinski. He will ask the minister of internal affairs [Zbigniew Siemiatkowski] and the Political Advisory Committee attached to the minister of internal affairs for their opinions.

Cimoszewicz came out in favor of resolving the Concordat issue in a "sensible" way, meaning, he explained, that the Concordat provisions should not be aimed against anyone but that they should be formulated in everyone's joint interest.

The head of the government announced that he intends to become the head of a committee dealing with matters related to Poland's European integration because, he said, the issues of integration will become a priority, having precedence before all of the other intentions of the government. [passage omitted]

Poland: Rosati Views Russian Fears of NATO Expansion

LD1902130296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati told Polish Radio today that, despite the disturbing statements by certain Russian politicians, clarifying talks with Moscow are necessary about the issue of widening NATO. The foreign minister made the following comment about the words of Viktor Mikhaylov, Russian atomic energy minister, who has announced the destruction of the places in which NATO will, in his view and after its extension eastward, locate its tactical nuclear weapons:

[Begin Rosati recording] The atomic energy minister's statement disturbs us. In one sense, it is also, I would say, an irresponsible statement, but we will approach this with complete calm. We have to talk with Russia. Constant dialogue is required. There, too—and this must be remembered—there are various fears and doubts regarding the widening of NATO, which is still being treated as a threat, at least in certain circles of public opinion, as a threat to Russian security. Well, patient work is required. [end recording]

[Presenter] Minister Rosati said that the rumors about preparations to nominate Jerzy Jaskiernia for the post of Polish ambassador to Canada are premature and unjustified. He stressed that the post of head of the Polish diplomatic mission in Ottawa is filled at the moment and that the matter has never gone beyond the stage of initial, probing talks.

Poland: Ministry To 'Resolutely' React to Russian Remarks

LD1602204396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1714 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 16 Feb—The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] will resolutely and unequivocally react to any remarks by the Russian

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side that necessitate reaction, [Foreign Minister] Dariusz Rosati assured the Sejm today.

At the motion of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the minister presented the ministry's position on the offending remarks that have recently begun to appear in the Russian Duma. The Sejm approved his report.

Rosati recalled that recently the MSZ took such actions twice: It protested against Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's remark made on 10 February, in which he compared Poland to a prostitute; the Polish Embassy in Moscow also resolutely rejected claims by General Aleksandr Lebed, who said in SEGODNYA that there were forces in Poland that could stake territorial claims against Belarus and Ukraine.

According to Rosati, the content and tone of Zhirinovskiy's remarks are not worthy of debate at any level. "We value the dignity of the Polish Republic, its state bodies, and good relations between Poland and its neighbors so highly that we see no need to take a position in the future on such drivel that finds its origin in hatred and sows hatred in the two peoples." In his opinion, such remarks are an exception and cannot influence the entirety of Polish-Russian relations. On the other hand, Rosati suggested that the Polish Sejm send a letter on this issue to the presidium of the Duma and declared the Foreign Ministry's readiness to assist in the preparation of such a letter.

Deputy Sejm Speaker Aleksander Malachowski said that the presidium would consider such a possibility. Representatives of parliamentary floor groups supported this proposal.

According to Rosati, in light of international law, it is not possible to hold Zhirinovskiy criminally liable, the idea suggested by the KPN.

Longin Pastusiak said that similar remarks made in the Duma must not be left without any response, nor could they be justified by a claim that they were caused by the presidential campaign in Russia. "We have the right to expect that democratic forces in Russia will counteract such cases," he said, although he admitted that Rosati was right in his opinion that they were neither representative of Russian public opinion nor of the authorities there.

Janusz Dobrosz said the Polish side had made many gestures of reconciliation. Many Russians have been trading in Poland, which is not beneficial for the economy and often causes behavior verging on the pathological. Only once were the Russians in transit treated harshly by the Polish police, and our foreign minister had to apologize in Moscow. "Goodwill is interpreted as weakness," he added.

Bogdan Borusewicz, stressed that remarks made by the leader of the party, which in the December elections was supported by 7.5 million people, must not be ignored. In his opinion, Zhirinovskiy's remarks have an influence on the shaping of Russian policy toward Poland, and one should ponder whether Zhirinovskiy is alone in this or a new disturbing line of this policy is taking shape in Russia. What Zhirinovskiy says fits with what others say more quietly and in milder terms, but also in an atmosphere of ill will and enmity toward Poland. The MSZ has a duty to react irrespective of how many times a day it is necessary, he stressed.

Deputies were unanimous in the opinion that democratic forces in Russia should react to statements that are offensive to Poland. They recalled the book *The Katyn Detective Story*, which has recently been circulated in the Duma and which attempts to prove that Polish officers, described in the book as "aggressive idiots," were executed in Katyn by the Germans.

Poland: Roundup of Reaction to Prime Minister's Address

WS1602143096

[FBIS Report] On 15 February, the major Warsaw vernacular dailies carry editorials and reports on the reaction of politicians to Prime Minister Cimoszewicz's Sejm policy address.

RZECZPOSPOLITA, a centrist daily widely read in government circles, on page 5 carries a 600-word commentary by Bozena Wawrzewska under the title "Will Facts Follow General Outlines?" The author sums up the address as "correct, albeit without any revelations." Wawrzewska notes this was "the first policy address which stressed that state officers should follow ethical principles recommended for officers of the public service." "It is also interesting that a readiness to cooperate with the opposition, to bridge chasms and overcome divisions has been declared," observes the author, going on to add that the prime minister meant "most probably the parliamentary opposition, considering that the prime minister recently met with Deputies Geremek and Bujak—particularly the Freedom Union [UW] and the Union of Labor [UP]." The commentary says "it is worth noting that harsh tax policies are to be loosened and privatization continued; yet the lack of any specifics enfeebles the declarations." Wawrzewska goes on to list the weaknesses of the address: "The prime minister did not say anything about the future of the concordat." "The prime minister has announced he would improve state-church relations,"

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she points out, "but that improvement depends largely on what will be done with the concordat." A further fallacy is that "not much was said about the constitution, which is surprising considering that the prime minister continues to be the chairman of the Constitutional Commission." "The general statement that the role of the self-governments is to be increased is unexplicit," complains the author. "The prime minister did not say a word about the powiats [smallest administrative units that are to be established]. This is surprising, considering that the law on powiats is in the final phase of development at the Sejm." "Finally," the commentary states, "the prime minister made no straightforward statement on limiting state control over the economy, which is a cause for concern."

GAZETA WYBORCZA, a widely read center-left daily, carries a 150-word untitled commentary by Chief Editor Adam Michnik on the front page. Michnik remarks that the yardstick of the prime minister's credibility will be his ability to "prevent anything that would stand in the way of explaining the Oleksy affair thoroughly and objectively." "Basic state interests," Michnik says, "must stand above particular party interests. Such is the current demand of the raison d'etat. A prime minister who adheres to this political philosophy can count on a larger store of trust than ever before."

The same paper on page three carries a 500-word report signed "EM,DOM" under the title "Clean Hands, Good Intentions," rounding up reactions from major politicians. Bogdan Pek of the Polish Peasant Party is quoted as saying: "The prime minister's address did not convince me. In view of the recent dramatic events—for example, the Oleksy case—the appointment of politicians affiliated with the Democratic Left Alliance to head the Justice Ministry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs does not guarantee that these ministries will be objective." Jan Litynski of the UW pointed out that "the only specific statement in the address, and a very disturbing one at that, was the attack on the secret services." The deputy went on to add that "Prime Minister Cimoszewicz implied that they are involved in current political conflicts and are under the influence of various political cliques. Apart from that, the address was a list of very many good intentions." Tomasz Nalecz of UP said "it remains unclear what the prime minister thinks of Grzegorz Kolodko's Package 2000. If Kolodko makes it into the government, together with his program, the UP will be very critical of the cabinet because the Package is a very radical, liberal economic program."

TRYBUNA, a leftist daily supporting the governing party, carries a front-page commentary of 200 words by Stanislaw Cwik under the "100 Words Rubric." "This was probably the most boring policy address since 1989," writes Cwik. "We can only hope that the opposition and Solidarity will think of something to bring more color to our life and upset the stability we reached—so that we could live in interesting times again."

The same daily carries a 600-word report by "ALF" on page 10 rounding up more reactions of politicians to Cimoszewicz's address. Among them is Janusz Onyszkiewicz of the UW, who liked the fact "that the prime minister spoke much about the Armed Forces: civilian control and long-term projections for the military" and gladly greeted "the announcement that outlays on purchases of military equipment, research and training are to be incrementally increased." Onyszkiewicz does not hide, however, that he "would prefer if the prime minister had given some figures to back his theses."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a center-right daily, carries a 250-word front-page commentary by Bronislaw Wildstein entitled "Declarations and Deeds." "Prime Minister Cimoszewicz's address was a scrupulous specification of Poland's problems and rational declarations about the possibility of solving them," says Wildstein. "It is a cause for alarm," he goes on to say, "that the reform of the social security system and state decentralization were not listed among the government's top priorities. The social security system is a time bomb ticking at the base of state finances. That bomb has already exploded in Hungary. Decentralization, on the other hand, is a prerequisite for real democratization in our country. The current coalition has rather been supportive of centralization."

In a 550-word report on page three under the title "Nothing New?" signed by "POZ,SAR," the same daily quotes Jerzy Gwizdz of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms: "Bridging 'the past and the present' in Cimoszewicz's cabinet is Polish Peoples Republic ideologue Jerzy Wiatr. Chairman of the Christian-National Union Ryszard Czarnecki predicts that Cimoszewicz's premiership "will be a period of coolness in state-church relations. Declarations of strengthening the credibility of state authorities seem doubtful considering that Education Minister Jerzy Wiatr 'produced' numerous books on Marxism-Leninism, and the interior minister is Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, an enemy of the secret services." Kazimierz Ujazdowski of the Conservative Coalition claims the prime minister's "statements on Polish foreign policy were hardly convincing." "I do not think," Ujazdowski is quoted as saying, "that this government is capable of rebuilding our credibility on the international arena." Ujazdowski concludes: "In my view, the address did not contain a lucid opinion on the cases of

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Oleksy and [former head of the Main Customs Office] Sekula."

NOWA EUROPA, a business daily, on page three carries a 550-word report signed "ASS" under the title "The Opposition: Not Enough Details." The author points out that Jozef Oleksy stressed the new prime minister's address contained one very important thesis: "the economic success of the coalition government must be felt by the average citizen." Chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland Leszek Moczulski assessed the address as "interesting, well construed, well written, and well read. Yet it is deeds that count, not words."

SZTANDAR, a popular daily, on page three carries an untitled report signed "(pg,ara)." It contains the opinion of Lech Walesa, who said the address was "wishful thinking, simply yet another speech." "I fear," said the former president, "that subordination of the secret services to the president may them to operate just like the Secret Service of old."

Poland: Defense Minister's UK Visit Summed Up

WS1902155096 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 15 Feb 96 pp 1, 4

[Report by Andrzej Medykowski: "The British Are Well Disposed Toward Poland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski has returned from his first foreign visit. He stressed that Great Britain is a very influential member of NATO and may have a lot to say on Poland's bid to join NATO. During a news conference, he also emphasized that Great Britain is well disposed toward us, pointing out the external preconditions for joining the alliance.

Speaking about the practical steps that Poland and our Armed Forces must make to enter NATO, the minister mentioned new legal regulations defining the principles of exercising civilian control over the Army, structural changes as a means of adapting to NATO structures, and modernization of the Armed Forces.

Asked whether Russia is stiffening its stance on the expansion of NATO to the east, Minister Dobrzanski said that, during the presidential campaign, it is difficult to guess what the true intentions of the Russian politicians are. Poland's attempts at integrating with the defense structures of the West are coupled by efforts to improve Polish-Russian relations, particularly in the field of the economy. Recapitulating the stance of his British interlocutors, Minister Dobrzanski said that NATO "will retain its sovereignty on the issue of expansion," regardless of the results of the presidential elections in Russia.

Minister Dobrzanski concluded his visit to Great Britain by meeting with veterans of the Polish armed forces in the West.

Commenting on Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski's visit for POLSKA ZBROJNA, Colonel Eugeniusz Mleczak, National Defense Ministry [MON] spokesman, said: "The atmosphere of the meeting was friendly and concrete. Minister Portillo was interested in the issue of civilian control over the Armed Forces, expressed his readiness for closer military cooperation, and thanked the Polish troops for participating in the IFOR [Implementation Force] mission to Bosnia.

The British hosts listened attentively to the minister's views on security and the processes taking place within MON related to introducing civilian control over the Armed Forces, as well as issues related to the budget, equipment, and restructuring of the Armed Forces.

Minister Michael Portillo suggested that a team of British experts be established and sent to Poland. On the basis of talks and observations, they would compile a special document, in particular on civilian control over the Armed Forces and major problems faced by MON. An outsider's view could be of help to us and would provide the British and representatives of other NATO states with an insight into Polish defense issues and the situation within MON. A report compiled by experts from one of the superpowers and major members of the alliance could play a role in the process of NATO expansion.

Minister Dobrzanski invited Minister Portillo to visit Poland. The revisit will take place probably at the end of March or in the first days of April. An agreement of cooperation and an agreement on using testing grounds could be signed between the ministries of both states.

Participants in the minister's meeting with representatives of the Federation of Polish Veteran Organizations presented the problems of their community and thanked the minister for his interest.

Poland: Visit of Slovak Military Delegation

LD1902190996 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A Slovak military delegation headed by Deputy Defense Minister Jozef Gajdos started its two-day visit to Poland today. Our reporter Miroslav Mlynar reports from Warsaw about the agenda and aims of the visit.

[Mlynar] [Passage omitted] After their arrival in Warsaw, they were welcomed at the Defense Ministry by Polish Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka.

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Their talks concentrated on the process of European integration and the two countries' drive toward NATO. In this context, Deputy Ministers Gajdos and Karkoszka stressed that, although it is necessary to take into account Russia's interests, both Poland and Slovakia are independent states that consider their integration into the transatlantic security structures to be their exclusive sovereign and inalienable right. The two deputy defense ministers agreed that a final decision on enlarging NATO will hardly be made by the end of 1996.

This is why Poland and Slovakia should improve their military cooperation in order to bring their armies as close as possible to their NATO partners, be it within the Partnership for Peace project or during bilateral contacts.

During the morning talks between the Slovak and Polish military delegations, much attention was paid to the idea of reviving military contacts between the countries of the Visegrad Troika. Jozef Gajdos and Andrzej Karkoszka decided to initiate a meeting of the deputy defense ministers and defense ministers from Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

In the afternoon, Slovak Deputy Defense Minister Jozef Gajdos and his entourage were received by Polish Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzansky. [passage omitted]

Poland: Kwasniewski, Hungary's Horn Discuss Oleksy Case

LD1702205396 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Aleksander Kwasniewski has returned to Warsaw after his two-day visit to Hungary. Speaking at a news conference that ended his visit to Budapest, Kwasniewski expressed the opinion that none of the candidates for the presidential office in Russia will publicly support the possibility of NATO's expansion eastward. [passage omitted]

It was agreed during the visit that the Polish and Hungarian presidents and prime ministers will hold continuous consultations, also by telephone. President Kwasniewski emphasized that Poland and Hungary were not in competition on their path to NATO membership.

Another subject of the conversation between the two politicians, which was held in private, was the so-called Oleksy case. The president told the press that he had briefed Prime Minister Horn on what the matter meant from the viewpoint of the law and the activity of the parliamentary commission. However, he did not want to reveal the details of the conversation. He only added that he learned very interesting things on similar cases from Horn.

Prime Minister Horn has his own opinion on the Oleksy issue, which to a large extent I share, Aleksander Kwasniewski said. He added that, in his opinion, the political crisis in Poland was over and that the public in Poland and abroad knew that Poland was a democratic country because everything was running its course in line with parliamentary and legal principles. Aleksander Kwasniewski added that he did not know the prosecutor's documents concerning the matter.

The president also said that the candidacy of Former Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia for the post of ambassador to Canada had not yet been presented to him. In his opinion, Jaskiernia had appropriate qualifications to hold such a post.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] I think it is absolutely inappropriate to discuss such nominations in public many months before such a nomination may theoretically take place. A misunderstanding has occurred here. I will look into the matter when it becomes formal in some way. [end recording]

It is you reporters who have blown this candidacy, the president told Polish reporters. [passage omitted]

Poland: Former Minister on Syrian Link to Oleksy Case

WS1602155296 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 15 Feb 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Anita Gargas: "The Oleksy Case; Mysterious Death of an Intelligence Agent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Jacek Bartosiak, second secretary of the Polish Embassy in Damascus, who died in a mysterious car crash last October, turned out to be the same high-ranking Security Service functionary who in 1990 oversaw the copying of files that belonged to the intelligence services of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] (including materials concerning the most valuable agents) on diskettes and had at least one separate set of copies. This was traced in May 1992, which was one of the biggest successes achieved by the team of Piotr Naimski [head of the Office of State Protection at that time]. The investigation proceedings against Bartosiak were discontinued after the Olszewski government was overthrown, and then they were terminated by Milczanowski. Bartosiak went back to Syria, where, as a newspaper reported, he in fact was an agent of Polish intelligence.*

However, Antoni Macierewicz, former head of the security ministry [Ministry of Internal Affairs], links the date of Bartosiak's death to the day when [former Internal Affairs Minister] Andrzej Milczanowski obtained the

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most important operational materials on Jozef Oleksy's cooperation with the KGB.

Diskettes All Over the World

"In line with testimonies made by Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] functionaries during PRL times, before the operational files in the 11th Directorate (which dealt with fighting the opposition) of the First MSW Department (intelligence) were destroyed, their summaries were made and then the information was saved on diskettes and handed over to higher officers," we read in a document drawn up on the basis of materials of the former research department and made available at the conference entitled "Decommunization and Reality." It can be presumed that sets of diskettes were sent to General Kiszczak, General Pozoga, and Jaruzelski.

As Antoni Macierewicz claimed, the functionary of the 11th Directorate who oversaw operations of saving and destroying data on the most important agents was Jacek Bartosiak. The Office of State Protection [UOP] caught his trail when it was trying to find out exactly how the SB documents were destroyed. It turned out that the communist leadership of the ministry dispersed all over the world the functionaries who, as diplomats, guarded the information that was saved on diskettes.

After the affair was detected by UOP, Bartosiak, who was already in Syria (a far-away post kept him out of sight of the new governing team), was summoned to Warsaw. Piotr Naimski brought him before a prosecutor.

"Unfortunately, all of this was happening in late May 1992, and Walesa's coup saved Bartosiak and his colleagues. Milczanowski terminated the investigation, and Bartosiak went back to Damascus as a diplomat," Macierewicz explains in GLOS [biweekly Warsaw publication]. "Reportedly, he threatened Naimski then, saying that 'we have passed a sentence on Naimski.' In Polish Embassy circles in Syria, Bartosiak became notorious for his loquacity and braggadocio. Under these circumstances, his death and the disappearance of diskettes with the names of agents on the eve of the presidential elections seem quite suspicious."

Collision With a Cold-Storage Truck

The accident occurred on 24 October of last year on the Damascus-Beirut road near the town of Shtora. The Peugeot 405 that carried employees of the Polish Embassy in Damascus Jacek Bartosiak and radio operator Wojciech Banasik, right after crossing the Syrian-Lebanese border collided with a cold-storage truck coming from the opposite direction. The two Poles died. The Lebanese truck driver did not suffer the slightest injury in the crash.

In line with one of the initial versions of the accident, the truck was parked at the side of the road and then the driver rapidly started forward at the sight of the Poles. The official version—which was accepted after lengthy discussions the Foreign Affairs Ministry and UOP held with the Lebanese police to clarify the accident—excludes such a possibility. It was stated that it was the Peugeot that unexpectedly swerved to the other lane of the road. This seems strange; the weather was excellent, the car did not have a puncture, and it was not shot at. According to the official version, Bartosiak fell asleep at the wheel.

Antoni Macierewicz asked the prosecutor general to start an investigation to clarify whether the death of the former SB functionary had anything to do with the disappearance of the diskettes, and with the Oleksy case, in particular. Even though he sent an open letter to Jerzy Jaskiernia, he has not received an answer as yet.

"The investigation related to the diskettes with materials on the most important PRL agents was never concluded. It is known that in this case the most active officers were PRL intelligence service functionaries, whom [former] Prime Minister Olelsy accuses of having engaged in operational work against him," says Macierewicz. It is worth adding that Macierewicz is referring to Marian Zacharski and Henryk Jasik.

Poland: Rosati Criticizes Oleksy Party Appointment

LD1902202696 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The appointment of Jozef Oleksy to the post of leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] is an unfortunate move by the party, which has not sent a very good signal to the West, Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati has told Radio Three. He said that the choice of Oleksy will definitely not help. It will definitely be an obstacle to our NATO aspirations.

In response to the statement, Andrzej Urbanczyk, spokesman for the Democratic Left Alliance parliamentary floor group, commented that the SdRP has the right to make its sovereign decisions, just as Mr. Rosati has the right to make statements of various kinds.

Poland: Results of Referenda Show Citizens' Confusion

LD2002112196 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 0800 GMT 20 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to unofficial data, the turnout in the Sunday enfranchisement referenda was about 33 percent. Official results will be known this afternoon.

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After counting the votes from 21 provinces, the turnout was calculated at 33.16 in the presidential referendum and 33.19 in the Sejm referendum.

Almost 95 percent of the voters said yes to the president's question: Are you for mass enfranchisement of citizens? A firm yes also came in the answers to the first, second, and fourth questions asked by the Sejm—about 90 percent. However, almost 80 percent were against the extending of National Investment Funds by more enterprises.

So far, the highest turnout was registered in Krosno Province—almost 49 percent of those eligible to vote. The lowest turnout was in Kielce Province—slightly over 20 percent.

Poland: Referenda Results Not Expected To Be Binding

LD1902184696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to unofficial reports, the turnout in the referenda yesterday did not exceed the required 50 percent and came to between 30 and 40 percent of those eligible to take part. This means that the referenda results will not be binding.

Professor Wojciech Laczkowski, chairman of the State Electoral Commission, has told Polish Radio that before 1900 hours his headquarters received the results from 19 provinces [out of 49]. It is expected that the results of the enfranchisement referenda should be known by tomorrow afternoon. [passage omitted]

Poland: Dobrzanski's Views on U.S. Report on Army

WS1902142096 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Feb 96 p 4

[Report by "LUZ": "MON. Minister Dobrzanski Comments: The Report Is Good for Us, Although There Are More Negative Opinions in It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The description of the conflict between the defense minister and the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, which can be found in the recently published report by the U.S. Congressional Research Service on military aspects of admitting new member states to NATO, is exaggerated," National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski said yesterday [16 February].

According to him, such a conflict was most often to be found in the press. He did admit, however, that indeed "there were and there still are disputes, but they are not disputes that might discredit us as future members of NATO or the Western European Union."

It is worth recalling that the conflict between former [Defense] Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, became most noticeable in the fall of 1994, when the highest ranking commanders spoke against the head of the National Defense Ministry. At that time, it was not only the press that took a closer look at the issue.

A special Sejm subcommission chaired by Jerzy Szmajdzinski (Democratic Left Alliance) established at that time that "what happened, including the active participation of the president, should be evaluated entirely negatively because it was contrary to the principle of civilian and democratic control of the Armed Forces. (...) The military commanders who actively participated in the Drawsko discussion more or less consciously violated this principle, which the Polish Government pledged to observe when it adopted the Partnership for Peace document." The commission also recommended that "the minister take action aimed at imposing discipline on the subordinate structures, including even disciplinary action." However, as a result of all this, the person who was dismissed was the minister himself, whereas the generals stayed and are working in peace even today.

At the same time, Dobrzanski expressed a less clear-cut opinion than the one he voiced earlier about the U.S. document. Last Thursday he called it "a eulogy for the Polish Armed Forces," but the view he took yesterday was not so unequivocal: "I would not make much noise about it. This report was not all that tragic; it is not bad. I would even say that it is good. There are more bad than good opinions in it. Aside from that, some of those bad opinions are simply objective."

Poland: Defense Official on U.S. Report on Army

WS1602131196 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 16 Feb 96 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Polish Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka by Rudolf Hoffman; place and date not given: "Advantages and Disadvantages of the Polish Armed Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hoffman] You have just read the report on our Armed Forces drawn up by two American experts of the U.S. Congress Research Center: John M. Collins and Jason D. Meyers. The report is said to be very critical of our Army. Do you agree with such a view?

[Karkoszka] I believe that the opinion expressed by ZYCIE WARSZAWY—because this is what you are referring to—is completely exaggerated and false.

[Hoffman] Why?

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[Karkoszka] I personally know the authors of this report. I also know the institution that drew up the report. They are very serious people who do not play politics and walk firmly on the ground. This report is very specific and based on objective premises. I must say that in many places it is very favorable to Poland.

[Hoffman] Can you list those places?

[Karkoszka] First, the report very seriously evaluates the effort Poland made to abandon historical factors, which are evaluated as negative—the alliance-based defense policy in which Poland had little say. We shook off this burden in 1990. We are training new generals, officers, and we are cooperating with Western armies. In our military education system we are moving in the direction of independent thinking in strategic planning. The authors of the report stress the great efforts Poland made in this area.

The authors admit that Poland has considerable defense forces and a very well-developed defense infrastructure. Poland is a very active participant in the Partnership for Peace program. They stress that Poland has had experiences in peacekeeping operations in various parts of the world, during which it cooperated with the armed forces of other countries.

[Hoffman] What else do the authors of the report stress?

[Karkoszka] They primarily stress that the Armed Forces of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary have freed themselves of the political factor, in the sense of its presence among officers. The authors of the report also emphasize that the combat capabilities of these three armies are steadily improving.

[Hoffman] Why, then, are some journalists so pessimistic in their evaluations of the report?

[Karkoszka] This is probably because they are not familiar with the contents of the report. It is true that the authors are critical of, for example, the fact that there are too many high-ranking officers in comparison to lower-level officers. It is a fact with which all of the employees of our ministry are well familiar. At the same time, the authors add that the restructuring of the Polish Armed Forces is continuing. There has been a change in the methods of military training; it has also been given a new direction. The last critical sentence in this report says that those who make the ministry's policies take part in incessant political squabbles over control of the Armed Forces.

[Hoffman] What do you think about this?

[Karkoszka] I want to say that the report was prepared on 4 December 1995—that is, at a time when a very sharp and, unfortunately, public debate was under way in Poland on the defense budget, the role of the General Staff, the Ministry of National Defense, and on civilian control over the Armed Forces. Actually, as a result of this debate, the situation has become quieter. The fact that the parliament passed a Law on the Office of the National Defense Minister was one of the things that contributed to calming the situation. The authors of the report watched the debate from outside.

[Hoffman] Thank you for the interview.

Poland: Army, Ministry Spokesmen on U.S. Report

WS1902122696 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 17-18 Feb 96 p 5

[Article by "RH": "On the Collins-Meyers Report; Unnecessary Information Noise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The report entitled 'Problems and Prospects of the Military Expansion of NATO' by John Collins and Jason Meyers of the U.S. Congressional Research Service was published on 7 February of this year. It is a report on the preparations that three Visegrad Group countries—Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary—are making to become NATO member states.*

"This report reached the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ] on 9 February," TRYBUNA was told by MSZ Spokesman Pawel Dobrowolski.

The document is of a collective nature, and it devotes 13 lines to the Polish Armed Forces. According to the spokesman, this is a study whose gravity is not very great. It is a collection of remarks rather than a thorough analysis.

Lieutenant Colonel Eugeniusz Mleczak, spokesman of the National Defense Ministry, expressed the opinion that the document is a derivative of earlier-published documents, such as the "Study on NATO Expansion" of September 1995. As a result, some theses included in this document may be interpreted in a variety of ways. Also, the authors did not have sufficient knowledge, which, incidentally, they simply could not have in November and early December 1995: for example, knowledge about the Law on the Office of the National Defense Minister. The spokesman points out that the shortcomings listed in this report do not entitle anyone to formulate opinions that Western partners see the Polish Armed Forces, their condition, and their commanders as an obstacle to our integration into NATO.

Commander Roman Dankowiakowski of the Office of the Press Spokesman of the General Staff [GS] of the Polish Army believes that the way in which

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some dailies, particularly GAZETA WYBORCZA, write about the report causes unjustified and harmful misunderstandings. This has resulted in information noise that is unnecessary and detrimental to Poland.

The spokesman also denied the information presented by, among others, the RMF radio station that, at a private meeting with U.S Ambassador N. Rey on 8 February, General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the GS, accused the Americans of being two-faced, pointing out to the ambassador the differences between the report and the official stand of the government.

The spokesman also stressed that no representative of the GS of the Polish Armed Forces would comment on the contents of the report drawn up by the U.S. Congressional Research Service.

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Romania: PSM Leader on Holbrooke's Trianon Statement

AU1902182096 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During a news conference today, Adrian Paunescu, the first vice president of the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], asserted that the statement made by Richard Holbrooke, undersecretary of state of the United States, regarding the reparation of the heritage left by the Trianon Treaty is a dangerous one. In this context, Paunescu expressed his amazement that the Romanian officials present on that occasion did not retort in any way. [passage omitted]

Romania: Party Leader on Solving Conflict With Hungary

LD1902223096 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A foreign minister coming to the end of his term cannot solve a thousand year-old conflict, Gheorghe Funar, chairman of the Romanian National Unity Party has announced. Our Bucharest correspondent, Tibor Bogdan, brings the details:

[Bogdan] Funar thinks that the Romanian side urges the signing of the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty in March, because it intends to give this as a present to Hungary and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ, UDMR in Romanian] on the occasion of 15 March [anniversary of the 1948 Hungarian revolution and war of independence, a Hungarian national holiday].

In connection with this, he warns against a hasty signing of the treaty and demands a referendum over the matter, saying that the two countries' thousand year-old conflict cannot be solved by a foreign minister who is coming to the end of his mandate, that is, by Teodor Melescanu.

According to Funar, for the finalization of the basic treaty and for reconciliation it is necessary, first and foremost, that Romania's constitution and the minority framework agreement of the Council of Europe should be observed during the process. At the same time, Hungary will also have to meet three criteria: It has to admit its atrocities committed in northern Transylvania after the Vienna decision [1940]; it has to put an end to its foreign policy aimed against Romania and Romanians all over the world; and it has to abandon its practice of intervening in Romania's internal affairs, and directing and financing the UDMR. Finally, the UDMR will have to abandon its absurd demand—which is also supported by the political parties of Hungary—to have a right of veto regarding the basic treaty.

Romania: Tinca Assesses Two-Day Visit to Greece

AU1802151396 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Feb 96

[Statement by Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca at Otopeni Airport; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca has returned from a two-day visit to Greece at the invitation of his Greek counterpart Yerasimos Arsenis, a visit that concluded with the two ministers expressing their determination to develop Greek-Romanian military cooperation.

Our correspondent Cezar Helmis was present at Otopeni Airport when Minister Tinca arrived and asked him to make a few statements for our radio station.

[Helmis] What were the major issues that you discussed with your Greek counterpart?

[Tinca] You have probably noticed the frequent meetings in this area lately. The basic idea is that, through increasingly active contacts, we are trying to contribute, according to our possibilities, to creating stability and possibly ensuring its consolidation in the interest of security in our country, as well as in the entire area.

With Greek Defense Minister Arsenis, we discussed issues that could be included in three chapters: bilateral relations, the situation in our area—that is, the Balkans—the southern part of East Europe, and NATO expansion.

Regarding the first chapter, we realize that our relations are very active. The visit that Mr. Arsenis paid last year to Bucharest and my visit now will probably lead to an intensification of contacts that will eventually be moved to the lower echelons.

One can note a certain frustration on both sides due to the fact that, so far, we have not been able to find a project or several substantial projects on which to cooperate in the defense industry. Both we and they have common concerns. We have the potential and the possibilities; therefore, we decided that through more consistent efforts, we should try to reach something concrete.

The deputy of the Greek minister in charge of these issues will come to Romania and we hope to identify something in this respect on that occasion.

Concerning the regional situation, we noted Greece's efforts and, at the same time, a certain success in halting the escalation [of the conflict] in connection with that island in the Aegean Sea, as well as Greece's determination voiced at all levels. I also met with the

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prime minister to solve that problem through peaceful means, something that I think is very good.

Regarding NATO expansion, our ideas and views are almost identical and express the need that the integration—that is, the way in which the countries in East Europe will be integrated—should in no way lead to a lack of balance for the southern part of the region, namely, the Balkans. I believe that this is a positive idea and it leads me to believe that Greece, just like other countries in this area, will insist on NATO integration in such a way as to ensure a balance in Europe.

Romania: Effects of Budget Cuts on Air Force Capability

AU1502085496 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 7 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Doru Dragomir: "The Romanian Air Force May Become an Easy Target for a Would-Be Enemy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Air Force may be faced with huge difficulties in 1996 because of a lack of financial resources.

The experts believe that the recovery process started last year by the Aviation and Air Defense General Staff may come to a halt because of the provisions of the draft defense budget, which are very limited in the section on investment and material spending. The funds provided by the Ministry of National Defense's overall austerity budget cannot cover the purchase of spare parts nor pay for the necessary repairs to ensure the operational status of an appropriate number of training aircraft.

As far as the Romanian Air Force is concerned, 1995 marked an increase in the number of flight hours per pilot from 12 hours, registered in 1994, to 40 hours. Last year, there was enough fuel for 50 flying hours per pilot, but this figure could not be achieved because of the lack of spare parts, other materials, and money for repairs.

In 1995, the rate of serious air accidents per 10,000 flying hours went down from 2.09 in 1994 to 0.59. At the world level, the accepted accident rate is 0.5 accidents per 10,000 flying hours, with each individual pilot performing a minimum of 100 flying hours per year.

Last year's accidents were as follows:

On 30 March, there was an accident on board a IAR-99 plane No. 714. Due to a technical fault, a fire broke out in the cockpit, which forced the pilots to eject. During the ejection, one of the pilots was seriously hurt. The plane crashed near Ianca airdrome and was destroyed.

On 27 July 1995, a MIG-21 training plane hit the ground near Deveselu airdrome during an attack maneuver which was part of a complex exercise. The plane's two pilots were killed.

On 29 August 1995, during a landing at Timisoara airport, the pilots of another MIG-21 reacted inappropriately during a possible malfunction of the automatic pilot (at an altitude of 200 meters) and, due to the lack of altitude, ejected from the plane.

Romania: New Version of Political Parties Bill Approved

LD1502182396 Timisoara Radio Timisoara in Hungarian 1200 GMT 15 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the Senate approved the bill on political parties in a different form from the one approved by the Chamber of Deputies.

The Senate's version of the chapter on the registration of parties requires 10,000 founding members in more than half of Romania's counties, with at least 600 members in each county. The bill, the approval of which requires two-thirds of the votes, was approved in the Senate with 87 votes for, 22 votes against, and six abstentions.

Before the voting, Gyorgy Frunda [senator of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romanian, UDMR] protested against the Senate's version of the text by saying that the bill violates the freedom of assembly and association and the stipulations in the framework agreement on the protection of minority rights. When the voting started, the UDMR senators walked out of the assembly hall.

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Slovenia: Thaler on British Support for EU Integration

AU2002083596 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 19 Feb 96

[Report by Igor Juric on a news conference by British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind and Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler in Ljubljana on 19 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Juric] Slovene Foreign Minister Thaler voiced satisfaction with the contents and results of today's talks. According to him, his British colleague made numerous flattering statements about our country's development since the proclamation of independence. On the other hand, Slovenia particularly cherishes British support for our rapprochement and for integration with the European Union and NATO.

[Thaler] It was promised that this support will continue also in the quest for solutions that will help overcome the current deadlock in the signing of the [European Union] association membership.

[Juric] Bilateral relations are good, too. Trade has been on the increase lately and Slovenia is encountering a trade surplus here. They also discussed new forms of cooperation.

The British foreign secretary concurred with Thaler's assessment of the bilateral relations. He particularly emphasized:

[Rifkind, in English with superimposed translation into Slovene] We have great admiration for Slovenia's achievements in the five years of its independence, a healthy establishment of a secure democratic structure, respect for human rights, development of the market economy, and good economic results.

Slovenia: Ministry-Linked Intermediary in Tadiran Deal

AU2002115796 Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 19 Feb 96 pp 1, 3

[Report by M.S.: "To Tadiran With Money Via Klagenfurt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "There was no intermediary in the purchase (of the communications system for the requirements of the Slovene Army—remark by M.S.) and our country will settle the obligation toward Israel thus incurred through compensation sales." This is what Defense Minister Jelko Kacin claimed at the news conference on Thursday. However, it transpired that this was an ordinary lie, as one of the intermediaries in the deal between the Slovene Defense Ministry and the Tadiran enterprise from Israel had been found. Namely, allegedly this was Arbicon enterprise, owned by Andrej Dvoracek.

In January, Andrej Dvoracek personally drove (in an Alfa Romeo car) to Klagenfurt, where he transferred the money to the Israeli company Tadiran in a bank. Therefore, Kacin's claim that Slovenia will settle the purchase of the communications system through compensation sales is untrue.

Andrej Dvoracek—10 years ago, he was employed in the freight forwarding service of Iskra Commerce as the assistant finance director—supposedly paid $42 million from a Klagenfurt bank to the account of Tadiran enterprise.

It was originally planned that a Maribor-based company, Labcom, would also take part in the deal; however, the company was (for the time being for unknown reasons) "outmaneuvered."

In public Andrej Dvoracek likes to boast that, apart from good connections with Boris Znidarsic, state secretary in the Defense Ministry, whom we remember from the affair with a police patrol boat, he also has good connections in the police.

It is not entirely clear from the documents available to us whether Dvoracek's company is called Arbicon and Arbicom, but the company in question definitely used to be owned by Drzavna Zalozba. All this puts Jelko Kacin's statement that there is no reason to annul the deal with Tadiran under question. The expert commission, which, on the prime minister's instructions, has reportedly already carried out an audit of the deal, shares his opinion.

There are only two possibilities: Either the commission lacks expertise or the statement that the commission has already done its job is a lie.

Slovenia: Kucan's Visit to Sarajevo Analyzed

AU2002131996 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 Feb 96 p 1

[Commentary by Boris Jez: "Kucan Bypassing Defile"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lately, Sarajevo has become a unique center of the world. It is not only the peace mediators who are passing Izetbegovic's door handle to one another because a leap to Bosnia-Herzegovina is almost a matter of prestige. It all started with the arrival of the now deceased Mitterand, and what followed afterward was a sort of column of statesmen, philosophers, musical and film stars. Each of them brought something useful with them and usually took away even something more useful.

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The Slovene president, too, finally made the journey there yesterday. At first glance, he could unreservedly be classified as a member of this colorful column, however, Kucan could have increased his glory and scored political points two or three years ago. Therefore it is not that "his turn" only came now, after Dayton, when the media interest in Bosnia-Herzegovina is gradually waning. The political relations between Slovenia and Sarajevo have been excellent throughout and, in the contacts at the state level, it was primarily our side that displayed restraint because it did not wish to get (additionally) involved in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict.

Kucan's visit to Izetbegovic, even in other respects, did not fit into the political scenery of the international column through Sarajevo. Ours was evidently the first president who did not shake hands with the officers and soldiers (for domestic use) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but arrived there at the head of a substantial business delegation. To put it slightly pathetically, we could not do much during the war so we will try to compensate for it in peace. Perhaps the international media will not even notice this, however, it is additionally more important for us because the entire visit implies a rather good organization of our political and commercial interests in the post-war reconstruction. Yeaterday Kucan "elbowed" his way to Sarajevo for the second time. The first time he had to stay at home for security and logistic reasons,and yesterday his trip was nearly spoiled by bad weather. The proverbial "things tend to happen the third time around" did not materialize.

Slovenia: UNPROFOR Liaison Office Officially Closes

AU1602170896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 16 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] officially closed its liaison office in our country today. With the end of UN Confidence Restoration and UNPROFOR peace operations and the transfer of their authorities to the Implementation Force, the mandate of the employees in this office, which used to be situated in Brdo near Kranj, expired.

With the departure of the liaison officer, there is no permanent representative of the international troops left in our country. At the farewell party in the Foreign Ministry, senior UN representatives assessed that they had maintained exemplary cooperation with Slovenia throughout.

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Federal

FRY: Belgrade TV Reports on Rome Peace Meeting

AU1702213796 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 96

[Interview with TANJUG correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic in Rome by Belgrade Television announcer Jovan Nikolic in the Belgrade studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Nikolic] Colleague Jevdjovic, we have seen your first report with footage from Rome. How did the conference begin, and what are your impressions?

[Jevdjovic] The conference began in the morning with bilateral meetings between heads of delegations of Contact Group members and, of course, presidents of the republics from the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia.

Certainly the most important meeting in the morning was the one between President Slobodan Milosevic and Richard Holbrooke, head of the U.S. negotiating team, at which final details were established prior to the beginning of the conference. Somewhat after 1400 here in the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the conference opened with a plenary session and addresses by delegation heads of the Contact Group member countries, as well as the host, Italian Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli, to all participants with the joint message that the implementation of the Dayton accord must be continued and that a collective solution to all problems that appeared recently must be found.

After this, the plenary part of the conference ended and bilateral meetings were held. As far as we can tell, direct talks between President Slobodan Milosevic and heads of delegations—Croatian delegation Tudjman and Muslim delegation Izetbegovic, as well as Contact Group member countries—are under way at the moment.

[Nikolic] We know the reason for the Rome conference and we know what the main topic is. However, there are a number of secondary issues. Do you know which ones the participants are focusing on at the moment?

[Jevdjovic] It is certainly known to you that the Americans—as the side that participated the most in preparing the Dayton agreement—were particularly concerned about the fact that an extremely grave situation occurred in Bosnia in connection with the situation linked to the Muslim-Croatian Federation, and that certainly threatens the full and complete implementation of the Dayton agreement.

On our side, one may say that the Yugoslav stand starts from the premise that the largest part of obligations that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serbs had in connection with the Dayton agreement has been met and it is now expected that the other sides and the representatives of the international community should behave in the same spirit.

One should say in this context that no media or other kind of clamor that concerns the issue of war crimes and the like can obscure the situation and in fact threaten the peace process.

Therefore, the stand of our side is that one must continue the consistent implementation of the Dayton agreement on the whole and that no additional conditions may be set.

[Nikolic] Do you know whether one more joint meting is planned to be held in Rome tonight or will everything remain at the level of bilateral meetings? [Jevdjovic] As far as we know, it is planned that after these bilateral consultations, one more plenary meeting will be held at which results of the meeting of this evening will be summed up and the meeting may be continued tomorrow morning and then end. [Nikolic] Zoran, thank you for this report. We shall hear from you in the next newscast.

FRY: Bulatovic: Belgrade Refuses To Hand Over Suspects

AU1902154596 Paris AFP in English 0157 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 19 (AFP)—Belgrade will refuse to hand over three of its officers indicted for alleged war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague, a senior Yugoslav government member said in an interview published Monday [19 Febraury].

Defence Minister Pavle Bulatovic was quoted in the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI as saying that if the three men were guilty they would be tried in Yugoslavia "by our courts."

"Yugoslavia is merely respecting its own constitution and laws which prohibit the extradition of its own citizens," Bulatovic said.

He said Yugoslav authorities were however prepared to cooperate with the ICT in exchanging and collecting evidence and documentation.

"If it (the ICT) provides us with documents indicating that someone committed war crimes, then that person will be tried in this country in accordance with the law and in a fair and stern fashion," Bulatovic was quoted as saying.

On November 9, the ICT accused three officers of the former Yugoslav army (JNA [Yugoslav Peoples'

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Army]), namely, Veselin, Sljivancanin, Mile Mrksic and Miroslav Radic, of being responsible for murdering 261 non-Serb patients at the hospital in Vukovar on November 20, 1991.

The killings took place the day after JNA and Serb forces overran the eastern Croatian city after a lengthy siege.

Last Wednesday, a reliable military source told AFP that Lieutenant-Colonel Veselin Sljivancanin was now serving in Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, and had been promoted to colonel. The source said he would shortly be transfered to Belgrade.

On Sunday, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, the architect of the Bosnia peace accords, said in Rome that Washington would keep up pressure on Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic to implement the provisions of the accords concerning war crimes suspects.

FRY: Democratic Party Protests Hague Tribunal

LD1502142496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 15 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—The Hague Tribunal has brought into question its credibility by holding in investigative custody General Djordje Djukic and Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic.

This was stated by the vice-president of the Democratic Party, Miodrag Perisic, at a news conference at the international press center Thursday, called for by the Democratic Party following its open letter sent to the Hague Tribunal Chairman Antonio Cassese.

Perisic asked which were the norms that allowed for the 'arresting of witnesses.' He demanded that the standard of supreme authority be applied to all the parties to the war conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and not only to Serbs as in the case of Radovan Karadjic and Ratko Mladic.

Perisic said that the president of the Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic, and Republika Srpska Army Commander Ratko Mladic had been indicted for war crimes including, among others, for the destruction of cultural-historical monuments, but that no indictments had been issued for the destruction of the old bridge in Mostar as the biggest and most valuable historical monument destroyed in the civil war.

The old bridge, built in 1566, was the finest example of Turkish architecture in the Balkans. It was designed by Hajrudin Junior, the pupil of the famous architect Sinan. The bridge consisted of a single 29-meter arch over the Neretva River. It was destroyed by Bosnian Croats at the time of conflicts with Muslims in 1993/94.

The presidency of the Democratic Party said, in the letter to the Hague Tribunal, that the essential question was 'whether The Hague Tribunal is a real court of law or a political court set up only for Serbs.'

The Hague Tribunal was set up on the basis of Security Council Resolution 827 from May 1993, to prosecute those suspected of having committed war crimes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic Assesses Results of Rome Summit

AU1802201096 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 18 Feb 96

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by special TANJUG correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic in Rome on 18 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jevdjovic] A two-day meeting devoted to the overall implementation of the Dayton accord has just been concluded in Rome. Mr. President, how would you assess the overall work, and what is most important for our side that has been achieved during (?this voluminous work)?

[Milosevic] First of all, I am very pleased with our work in the last two days. However, I would first like to tell you the good news—namely, in the talks we had with the U.S. team and with representatives of the Contact Group member countries, an accord was reached to suspend the sanctions against the Serb Republic [SR] in accordance with the UN resolution, and this will go into effect this week. This is, I hope, not only good news, but also very significant news for all of us and, above all, for the citizens of the SR.

[Jevdjovic] Mr. President, does this in fact mean that nothing can stop the suspension of sanctions against the SR?

[Milosevic] Exactly. Nothing from the outside can disturb this any longer. This is a firm assertion by all the authorized representatives that we talked with. Therefore, nothing from the outside can disturb the suspension of sanctions against the SR—of course, apart from failing to adhere to the peace plan and that exclusively by the SR, which certainly must not and should not happen and which, considering the experience that showed that the SR authorities totally complied to the peace agreement, should not be expected.

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[Jevdjovic] The other issue that was addressed in particular—as far as we know—is that of new guarantees for the status of the Serb parts of Sarajevo that will be under the jurisdiction of the Muslim Federation.

[Milosevic] We talked about the entire issue of respecting the agreement and it is a firm orientation, and I was very glad to be able to see a (?certain) and firm wish on the part of all participants to consequently implement the peace plan in its entirety.

Regarding the citizens of the parts of Sarajevo that should belong to the Muslim-Croat Federation, they have already come up with some very significant measures with which one should remove all doubts about the possibility of the Serbs in these parts of Sarajevo that belong to the Muslim-Croat Federation being in any way discriminated. And it is not only they—that is, the Sarajevo government—but the prominent representative Bildt and his team, which is also careful about that.

As you know, there exist the international police, the mixed commission for civilian matters, and a good, not only intention, but also decision on the part of the Sarajevo Government, to affirm the principles of non-discrimination in all matters. This means the following—the Serbs will participate in the authorities in the municipalities in which they reside, a proportionate participation in the police structures, but the entire police corps, without any exception, will be controlled by the international police force for a longer time, certainly at least until elections, there will be no policeman on that territory without the insignia—that is, an identity card that could be exclusively issued by the international police forces, that is, that the person, be it Serb or Muslim who does his duty on the area, is completely checked and well trained.

Apart from that, they also decided to ensure immediately a full and complete respect for all rights that the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Constitution of the Federation envisage. This means the principle of non-discrimination: Apart from a participation in authorities, also guaranteed is a school system, that is, care of their schools, health centers, health institutions, social care, use of language, and use of Cyrillic script for parts of Sarajevo populated by the Serbs. Therefore, involved are complete measures that have been coordinated between the Sarajevo government and President Izetbegovic and his Prime Minister Muratovic with Carl Bildt and the civilian mission in Bosnia- Herzegovina. We had a long meeting about that. When I say we, I mean SR Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic and myself with Izetbegovic and Muratovic, where they not only gave these assertions but also acquainted us with regulations and decisions they adopted. Among other things, the law on amnesty of all participants in the war has been adopted. The only exception is war crimes and persons that The Hague Tribunal confirms. Therefore, it is out of the question that that unpleasant incident with that arbitrary arrest before a valid indictment of any person existed. In that respect, this is a very firm guarantee for which responsibility is held by both international organizations and Sarajevo government. In that respect, I believe there should be no misunderstandings.

[Jevdjovic] Let us sum up and ask simply whether there is there still any reason for fear in the Serb parts of Sarajevo and fleeing?

[Milosevic] There is none.

[Jevdjovic] What were the other topics that dominated this meeting in Rome?

[Milosevic] There was some talk about opening economic cooperation, traffic, roads, railways, and telecommunication systems, which is of great importance for both the SR and the Muslim-Croat Federation. I have seen that prime ministers Kasagic and Muratovic agreed about many things that should be established, particularly about railway traffic that benefits everybody and enables the recovery of economy. We have agreed to establish a normal, regular telephone traffic as soon as possible. I think that this will also contribute to abating of tensions and creating normal conditions for life in peace.

[Jevdjovic] Let us conclude this part of our activities in Rome. Can it be said that this conference is a significant step forward in implementing Dayton agreement and that we are closer to the final peace?

[Milosevic] The conference has removed the dangers of mutual misunderstanding between the sides that used to be conflicting and now should quickly cooperate. A high level of good will on the part of all sides, both as regards the SR Government and the Government of the Muslim-Croat Federation, in cooperation. I think that this is to the benefit of all citizens living on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in general. Yugoslavia will continue to firmly support the implementation of this peace agreement. We can all see that the killing has ceased, peace has begun to be implemented, the first steps of economic recovery have started, and it will be possible for the refuges to gradually return to their homes or to territories they wish to live on. In any case, everything shows a future normal life on the territory. I think that everybody will meet his obligations and make his contribution to completely realizing the peace plan.

[Jevdjovic] We know that you had an opportunity to talk with Italian President Scalfaro. How did your meeting go?

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[Milosevic] This was a very cordial and friendly meeting. We have very good relations with Italy, and we hope to further them. I expect President Scalfaro to visit our country soon, which he promised, and I hope that all past economic, cultural, social, and other relations that were established between Yugoslavia and Italy will be established again and that it will be done at an even higher level. There are virtually no obstacles for that any more.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you, Mr. President.

Serbia: PM Addresses Belgrade SPS Meeting

AU1802155096 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 96

[Report by Ikonija Vostinic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vostinic] Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic addressed the Belgrade Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and guests of the 3d electoral conference and spoke about Serbia in the year 2000 and its quick economic and social development in the conditions of a modern market and open economy.

We want to live in an open, free, humane, rich, and just society in which there will be room for creativeness. We want to live in a society in which everybody will be given equal conditions in the market competition, Marjanovic said. We want to create and develop a humane society of reasonable and acceptable differences.

[Marjanovic] This is why now, when peace has been created in this region and the heavy burden of sanctions lifted, Serbia must not only make up as soon as possible for what it lost in the last five years under sanctions for which it was not to blame but also enter the beginning of the 21st century as a modern market and open economy with a strong material basis for fulfilling goals of a humane and just society which our party advocates.

The tempo of our development in the coming time must be quick and with a high annual economic growth rate. Only in this way can we fully use industrial and other capacities which are now used by only one-third. Only in this way can we return to active economic life and bring back to work hundreds of thousands of those people who had been denied the possibility to work and earn because of sanctions. Only in this way can we open new and productive work places for thousands of young and educated people who want to live and work in their own country. Only through a quick production growth can one increase wages, pensions, and other forms of social income on realistic bases, with enough room being left for accumulation and new investments.

[Vostinic] Our main exporting chance, Marjanovic went on to say, is an offensive exports-directed strategy which relies on an advantage that Serbia already possesses, albeit also those that it can quickly create. What is involved are economic links with the world which have a strong positive reverse influence on a speedy social end economic development of the country. The market restructuring at the entire economic level, Marjanovic said, as well as in the firms themselves, is neither an easy or a quick process, however, it is inevitable and will be much less painful if it is entered in an organized way and with a clear vision of a future development.

We shall ensure this through an active employment policy, justly developed network of social development, and the policy of an even regional development. We now have, Marjanovic pointed out, the zoning plan of the Republic of Serbia as a strategic document that establishes the lasting organization, arrangement, and use of our republic's territory.

The Socialists support a market, open, and mixed-property economy with the basis in efficient firms whose goal is to create profit and increase their capital, Marjanovic said. In order to realize that, one must first of all ensure equality and legal protection of social, state, private, cooperate, and other forms of ownership guaranteed by the Constitution. The rule of law, Marjanovic said, will ensure full independence and equality of firms regardless of their kind or form of ownership. The rule of law must guarantee firms an equal position in economic operations, as well as equal obligations toward the state. This is why some social enterprises will be gradually transformed into joint stock companies in which results of work of the republican agency for labor evaluation play an important role.

With the suspension of sanctions, Marjanovic went on to say, conditions were created for adopting the remaining legislative from the sphere of economy and for completing the process of creating market institutions. We now face a serious task of adopting a number of laws which are to define enterprises in a way typical of countries with successful market economies along with using an already rich experience our country has. This is why, Marjanovic added, the Socialists of Serbia have started such an extensive project of harmonizing our economic system with the systems of OECD and particularly of the European Union.

This is our choice, as we Socialists consider the concept of open market and mixed-ownership economy the condition for a step into the next century. We are creating a legal system with public and clear regulations, a system that is complete and compatible, a legal system

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that ensures the compliance to laws and responsibility for failure to do so.

This is why in the coming period, Marjanovic concluded, one should place advantage on direct foreign investment, direct connection with foreign capital, and ownership participation of foreign investors. It is necessary to build economic system institutions to the benefit of our economy and our population to whose welfare they may and should contribute.

Later in the conference, the Socialists of Belgrade were given support in realizing planed goals in the coming period by Todor Modev on behalf of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Mrs. (Martha Simentoni) on behalf of the All Greek Socialist Movement PASO of Athens, by (Dan Darabon) on behalf of the Social Democracy Party of Romania, by Predrag Bulatovic, on behalf of the Democratic Party of Socialist of Montenegro, by Slobodan Cerovic on behalf of the Yugoslav Left, as well as by New Democracy.

Finally, the delegates of the 3d electoral conference of the City Committee of the SPS of Belgrade elected a new city committee as well as the statutory and control commission.

Serbia: 'American Stalinism' Regarding Dayton Denounced

LD1702152696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 16 Feb 96

[SRNA Commentary by Dragan [name indistinct]: "American Stalinism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 16 Feb (SRNA)—In assuming the decisive role in solving the crisis in former Yugoslavia, the Americans brought to Europe new principles and a code of behavior unknown to us. Namely, they present themselves as peacemakers and behave like occupying forces, they propagate democracy and carry out totalitarianism, they swear on the bible but do not believe in God. The history of the European peoples has not known such behavior in politics, diplomacy, or least of all in the army.

At this time the Americans are the prosecutor, the judge, and the executor of their own decisions, so it is totally irrelevant that everything is covered by the participation of the United Nations, the European Union, NATO, Ifor [Implementation Force], and when necessary by the activities of Milosevic, Tudjman, or Izetbegovic. The important thing is that what suits the United States must be done.

If he were alive now, Stalin would have been more than pleased with the way preparations were carried out for the Dayton peace plan and no less so with the democratic way in which the agreement was signed in Paris. Moreover, the plan was pronounced, following the best standards of totalitarian systems, as infallible, unalterable, and binding for everyone except its creators. It has one more virtue: Never in history has a peace plan been drawn up so quickly, on so few pages, and with so many stupidities and obscurities.

It is not necessary to cite all the examples which clearly show from the beginning of the 1990s how American Stalinism functions, neither is it necessary to analyze in detail the Dayton peace agreement to show all its weaknesses. However, the case of the abduction of General Djukic and Colonel Krsmanovic represents this type of paradigm, showing fully and conclusively the real meaning of the American code of behavior.

The high ranking Serb officers were arrested while going to attend negotiations, which is a violation of international laws of war which guarantee negotiators safety and immunity for their person and, in this case, for their rank. As IFOR directly took part in this sort of behavior so far unknown in European history, the General Staff of the Serb Republic army quite rightly suspended all contacts with IFOR officers.

The international laws of war are older than any peace agreement and if anyone is destroying the Dayton peace it is Ifor under the patronage of the Americans, not the Serb army or Serb policies.

However, older still than the Dayton peace plan and international laws of war in Europe, and until recently we believed in the world as well, are military ethics and the word of an officer.

Military ethics is based on the myth of the ancient classical hero and in the codes of behavior of the medieval knights. In this region even the hated German officers during the First and Second World Wars kept their word. Indeed, the only humane thing that can be said of all European wars is that there was respect for the sick and wounded, and for the word of an officer.

That is why the infantile behavior of the British, French, Russian, Italian, German, or Spanish officers is all the more strange in the case of the arrest of their colleagues, the Serb officers. By inviting Gen Djukic and Col Krsmanovic to negotiations, did they not give their officer's word that nothing untoward would happen to them? Have they forgotten what the officers' ethics are, or have they been overwhelmed by the "robust" American rules of the game?

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Serbia: Spain To Support Rapprochement With EU

BR1602143996 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1740 GMT 15 Feb 96

[Unattributed report: "Westendorp Announces Normalization With Belgrade at End of Tour"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb (EFE)—Spanish Foreign Minister Carlos Westendorp announced that Spain will normalize relations with the new Yugoslavia and support its rapprochement with the EU, before ending his tour of the former Yugoslavia today (Thursday).

"The time has come to restore full relations at ambassadorial level, and this will be done as soon as the climate becomes more relaxed, but the climate, especially in times of upheaval, is relaxing rather quickly," Westendorp said at the end of his visit to Belgrade.

"We in the EU think that Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) will have its place in the EU in the future. Yugoslavia can count on our support," Westendorp confirmed in a news conference.

This week Westendorp visited Croatia, Bosnia, and the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to gain a full overview of the peace process in the former Yugoslavia.

In Belgrade, during the final stage of his tour, the Spanish minister met today with the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, who signed the Peace Treaty on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs on 14 December, thus ending the war in Bosnia.

"I view the situation as promising. Much goodwill has been shown by the Yugoslav authorities to cooperate as they have been doing in the peace process," explained Minister Westendorp in a short meeting with the press.

He added that, in addition to the current difficulties, a solution can and must be found to the Bosnian conflict and Spain thinks that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has already take major steps in this direction.

The United Nations imposed a political and economic embargo on Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992, deeming those two republics to be responsible for the war in Bosnia.

The sanctions were lifted on 22 November 1995 after Milosevic signed the peace agreement in Dayton and undertook to comply with them on behalf of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic welcomed Westendorp's visit "which is the first visit by an EU foreign minister."

"We are pleased with Spain's support for the peace process. We respect the fact that Spain always has a balanced position and we hope that in the near future we will begin to cooperate in all areas," Milutinovic said during a news conference.

The Yugoslav minister said that during the talks with Westendorp they discussed the signature of a number of cooperation contracts in a wide range of sectors ranging from economics to culture.

In a statement to EFE, minister Milutinovic said that there are no plans to amend the Dayton agreement at the meeting of the three signatories—the presidents of Serbia (Slobodan Milosevic), Croatia (Franjo Tudjman), and Bosnia (Alia Izetbegovic)—to be held next Sunday in Rome.

"After two months during which the Dayton and Paris agreements have been in force, the Rome meeting will be devoted to problems which have emerged and to the future work although, of course, without affecting or modifying the agreement itself," Milutinovic said.

He added that it will be a good opportunity for Milosevic to hold bilateral talks with Bosnia and Croatia on unresolved issues, although "there will be no discussion of mutual recognition."

Following the meeting with Westendorp, Milosevic's cabinet issued a news release saying that the talks focused on the development of bilateral relations between the Serbian-Montenegro Federation and Spain.

"The Spanish Foreign Minister's visit opens up a real prospect for renewal and the beginning of genuine cooperation in the areas of economics, culture, science, technology, sports, and other areas in which results have been achieved in the past," according to the release.

It also stated that compliance with the Dayton agreement must make it possible to "fully normalize relations in this area and tone down one of Europe's most dangerous crises and conflicts."

Serbia: First Serb Refugee Group To Leave for Sarajevo

LD2002011396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0002 GMT 20 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 19 (TANJUG)—The Serbian refugee commissioner said on Monday that the first group of 200 Bosnian Serb refugees would leave Serbia for Serb Sarajevo on Thursday.

Bratislava Morina told TANJUG that the authorities of the (Bosnian Serb State) Republika Srpska had already

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provided accommodation for the Serb refugees who wanted to return to Sarajevo.

She said that about 600 refugees seeking to go to the Serb parts of Sarajevo or elsewhere in the Republika Srpska had contacted her office by Monday.

Serbia: Seselj 'Hurt' at Not Being Indicted by Hague

AU1502163596 Paris AFP in English 1617 GMT 15 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb 15 (AFP)—Ultranationalist Serb Vojislav Seselj said Thursday [15 February] he had asked the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague to let him plead his innocence on war crimes charges.

"I want to deny rumors that I am guilty of war crimes, and if I am not indicted, I will be a witness in The Hague on behalf of (Serb leader) Radovan Karadzic," Seselj told reporters in Belgrade.

He indicated that he had already been in touch with the UN tribunal "by telephone" and that he had applied for a visa from the Netherlands embassy in Belgrade.

Seselj, a political rival of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, said he was "hurt" that his name "has not been mentioned" in The Hague "together with those of other distinguished Serbs."

"This underestimates my role in the war" in the former Yugoslavia, he added.

Seselj's name appeared on a 1992 US State Department list of possible war crimes suspects, but he is not among 52 people so far indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

He said the para-military units which he mustered, and which fought in Croatia and Bosnia, "engaged in combat in a noble manner, with the sole aim of defending the Serb people."

These units had been armed and equipped by the police and army in the rump Yugoslavia, which comprises Serbia and Montenegro, and were placed under his command, he said.

He claimed that the tribunal in The Hague was preparing to put Milosevic on trial, and that Monday's transfer to the Netherlands of two senior Bosnian Serb officers was part of its advance work.

Seselj accused Milosevic of "giving his consent" to the extradition of General Djordje Djukic and Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic, a gesture which he said would not, in the end, save the Serbian president from a war crimes trial.

Both officers, he said, "belong to the Yugoslav Republic army and not that of the Bosnian Serbs, and their commander is Slobodan Milosevic."

To buttress his argument, he recalled that a pass from the Yugoslav army had been found in Djukic's possession upon his arrival in The Hague.

Serbia: Belgrade Socialists Support Studio B Ruling

AU1802180196 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed viewers, we have just received one more announcement during the newscast.

At their 3d conference on the document on Belgrade in 2000, the Belgrade Socialists asserted the objective and correct information, the freedom of press and public expression of opinion as one of the basic human and civil rights. Advocating modern and legal regulations in the sphere of information in conformity with world norms, the Socialists are of the opinion that laws and the rule of law must be respected in other spheres as well, particularly in the sphere of ownership relations. For this very reason, the Socialist deputies in the city assembly decided in favor of the implementation of the ruling of the Supreme Court of Serbia by which the ownership transformation in the Studio B house is ruled to be unlawful and the deleting of the city of Belgrade as its founder as illegal.

With such a decision, they protected the interests of the Belgrade citizens and created again conditions for the realization of the idea on forming information center to serve all citizens. As has been the case so far, the Socialists will support full freedom of the media in the future as well, it is pointed out in the announcement issued by the Belgrade Socialists.

Serbia: JUL Supports Court Decision on Studio B

AU1802175696 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Yugoslav Left supports the activities of the Belgrade Assembly which ensued in the wake of the decision the corresponding court made about the situation with ownership relations in the Studio B house. These activities contribute to the normalization of disturbed relations in Studio B and work to the benefit of the Studio B house itself, as well as to the benefit of the city of Belgrade.

Some time ago the Assembly of the City of Belgrade founded a radio and then television under the name of Studio B, being motivated above all by the city's needs, by the concept that Belgrade is a European cultural metropolis, and by the recognizable charm of this city

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that the Studio B Radio and Television should express, refine, and enrich.

Unfortunately, the city has meanwhile lost its television and it had to give it back to its citizens with the help of law. The unnecessary concern expressed by various, more or less influential, political factors expresses more a fear of losing political market and desire to dominate over the city than a recognition of laws and court decisions.

Let Belgrade itself decide on what Studio B and the city will look like, as Belgrade should be a place in which its citizens will be able to and will have to get the most and the best.

Serbia: Charges Brought Against Weekly's Editor

LD1902181796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—The district public prosecutor's office in Belgrade has announced that it brought charges today against the TELEGRAF weekly's editor Dragoljub Belic from Belgrade because he published an article—as the charges say—exposing Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic and the republic's government to public ridicule.

Belic published this article in issue number 88 of TELEGRAF on 24 January 1996, by which—as a statement forwarded to TANJUG says—he committed the criminal act of violating the reputation of the prime minister of the Republic of Serbia or of the other republic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, under article 98, paragraph 1 of the penal code of the Republic of Serbia.

Montenegro

Montenegro: JUL Plans Rallies Despite Opposition

AU1502200396 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 96 p 9

[Report by N.T.: "Move on Montenegro"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] is over, it appears that the Yugoslav Left [JUL] will intensify its political activities. The JUL has almost completed its economic program and the fight against crime program, its presentation is expected in Kosovo and Montenegro, and there has been an official announcement of a JUL inauguration assembly next month in Sokolac (RS). [Sokolac is in a currently Serb-controlled area in Bosnia-Herzegovina]

The JUL is seriously considering promoting the movement in Kosovo next month. The JUL has been working on a "platform for Kosovo" for some time now, as we have heard from the leadership of this party. March trips to the southern Serbian province would be an excellent opportunity for it to present itself.

After Kosovo, the JUL could cross the Serbian borders. Although Prime Minister Djukanovic recently opposed the spread of the JUL to Montenegro, well informed circles in the JUL claim that a series of promotion rallies can be expected in this republic before too long.

The JUL's economic program is said to be in its final phase. Its creator is the JUL deputy chairman Nenad Djordjevic, assisted by JUL trade committee secretary Ivan Markovic.

JUL spokesman Aleksandar Vulin also says that the movement will soon present its fight against crime program to the public.

The JUL is currently intensively carrying out elections at the level of districts. Following that, elections will be held at the level of municipal communities.

The JUL, like the SPS, is trying to make sure that nothing is left to chance. According to Vulin, they will soon open an information center for reporters in the former building of the [League of Communists] Central Committee (which is also the headquarters of the Communist Alliance-Movement for Yugoslavia). At any time of day or night reporters here will be able to get all necessary information.

Kosovo

Kosovo: LDK Official Suggests Seselj Behind Bombings

AU1902214596 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 18 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Fatos Baxhaku, Ali Ukaj: "'Bomb Attacks in Kosova: We Are Responsible'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We planted the bombs in Kosova, and this is only the beginning." What has long been predicted has finally happened. Violence in the grimmest form of bomb attacks has broken out between Albanians and Serbs. An organization that works underground in the former Yugoslavia has admitted to GAZETA SHQIPTARE responsibility for the bomb attacks that occurred simultaneously in several Kosova cities on 11 February. Other political groups in Kosova including the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] have denied any involvement in this incident that has alarmed all international observers. "We do not know of this organization," one of the senior leaders of Kosova's most powerful party told the official media yesterday. The incident caused an immediate response in

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public circles in Tirana, although Albania has officially been cautious, watching events from a distance and waiting for the outcome. The incident indeed occurred more than a week ago, but the echo of the explosion passed almost without being noticed. This may have been because the attacks only led to material damage and not to casualties. The grenade attacks were aimed at locations where the Milosevic regime has concentrated hundreds of Serb refugees who had fled to Serbia, scared and exhausted by the bloody conflict in Bosnia. A representative of the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosova [Levizja Kombetare per Clirimin e Kosoves] told GAZETA SHQIPTARE yesterday, "We placed the bombs at the sites inhabited by Serb refugees. This is only the beginning of the beginning." The representative of the strong-arm wing of the Kosovars did not wish to give further details about the attack. "Operative Number One carried out this action and the reason we are late in claiming responsibility has been the security of our people in Kosova." A representative of the LDK gave an entirely different version yesterday. According to him, the placing of the bombs not only had no connection with the activities of his party, but the LDK has not even heard of such an organization. According to LDK Deputy Chairman Hydajet Hyseni, at least as far as ATA reported, the LDK has no knowledge of the existence of any organization called the Kosova Liberation Army [Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves] Hyseni even ascribed the attacks to extreme Serb nationalists under the command of Vojislav Seselj. "The LDK's stand remains unchanged," Hyseni continued. "We are insisting on a fair and permanent solution in Kosova." According to him, "The best way to eliminate radicalism and the work of anarchist and extremist forces is to secure a fair and lasting solution for the issue of Kosova. This would also be a testimony to the efficacy of the peaceful policy that the Albanians have been pursuing throughout recent years, at the cost of great sacrifices."

Kosovo: Serb Press on Ethnic Albanian Terrorists

AU1902181196 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 96 p 3

[Unattributed report: "'Army of Kosovo' Attacked Refugees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A hitherto unknown organization of the Kosovar Albanians, "The Liberation Army of Kosovo," has claimed responsibility for recent attacks on Krajina Serb refugee camps in Kosovo, the Pristina Albanian-language daily BUJKU reported yesterday.

"On 11 February 1996, the guerrillas of the Kosovo Liberation Army conducted an armed operation in Operation Zone 1. Hand grenades were used in guerrilla attacks on the refugee camps in Pristina, Mitrovica, Pec, Podujevo, Suva Reka, and Vucitrn," the statement by this illegal organization of the Kosovar Albanians reads.

"In the interest of peace in the Balkans, and the Serbian and the Albanian nations, we demand the end to the colonization, terror, and occupation of Kosovo, as well as the emigration of the Kosovar Albanians," the statement by the Liberation Army of Kosovo says.

Kosovo: 'Liberation Army' Threatens More Bombings

LD1902220896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2014 GMT 19 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 19 Feb (SRNA)—BUJKU, the Albanian separatist paper in Kosovo and Metohija, has carried a statement by the hitherto unknown "Liberation Army of Kosovo" which says that they are taking responsibility for the series of bomb attacks on refugee settlements in Kosovo.

The statement says that "for the sake of peace in the Balkans, we are letting it be known to Belgrade that the actions so far were only an indication of fresh bombings and at the same time an invitation to an urgent dialogue on the withdrawal of the army and police forces from the Republic of Kosovo."

The "Liberation Army of Kosovo" calls on international power centres, in particular the United States, to recognize the independence of Kosovo, "because otherwise war in this region is inevitable."

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